Programs Branch

User Report

LIMITED ACCESS CORRECTIONAL COMMUNITIES FOR CANADA

NO. 1984-58

Solicitor General Canada

87-04402/

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This working paper is available in French. Ce document de travail est disponible en français.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Background

The background of Limited Access Correctional Communities (LACC's)* is set out, in an international and historical perspective, at Annex "A". The emphasis in early models was banishment and harsh punishment, often through forced labor in a colonial frontier setting where manpower was a pressing need.

In later models, of which some noteable examples exist today, the emphasis has been more commonly on establishing a microcosm of a normal community to offset the debilitating effects of long-term incarceration. In these cases the purpose of the remote location is to reduce the threat of escape by ensuring restricted access to public transportation. In this way static security precautions can be minimized and freedom of movement within the community expanded.

In Canada, with our vast, sparsely populated areas, it is not surprising that there has always been some degree of interest in "LACC's" of one type or another. However, implementation of the concept has not been

* Limited Access Correctional Community (LACC) is the term employed throughout this Report to mean a family-based, work-oriented correctional community for long-term offenders. The Community might take various forms but in all cases would derive its primary security from its geographic location, having limited transportation and therefore limited accessibility to other communities.

attempted beyond federal and provincial examples of remote work camps, usually in the forestry industry or maintaining public parks. Advocates of the concept have often looked to promising foreign examples such as Islas Marias in Mexico, and the Iwahig penal colony in the Philippines as evidence that the concept is v: ble.

Interest in LACC's increased following amendment of the Criminal Code in 1976 which established first and second-degree murder offences. A first-degree murder conviction carries an automatic life term without eligibility for parole for 25 years.* For second-degree murder the penalty is also life imprisonment with parole eligibility set by the court between 10 and 25 years. These exceptionally long terms have led to fears in many quarters that inmates will suffer severe debilitating effects becoming so institutionalized, socially isolated, and perhaps psychologically damaged, as to never be fit for release. Leaving aside the issue of eventual release, it is feared by some that these long prison terms will prove to be so harsh and inhumane as to constitute cruelty. Staff fear that the resulting despair and hopelessness may cause otherwise manageable inmates to become vicious and dangerous, or despondent and suicidal.

These considerations were foremost in the thinking of the Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada when

* References to "parole" mean full parole. Eligibility for day parole (and unescorted Temporary Absences) begins 3 years prior to the parole eligiblity.

it recommended, (Recommendation 63, p-147) in its 1977 Report, that an in-depth study be conducted into the feasibility and viability of LACC's for long-term inmates (see Annex "B" for full text). This recommendation was accepted by the Solicitor General of the day, the Honourable Francis Fox.

A nominal amount of study was undertaken over the next few years but, in his Progress Report on the implementation of the Sub-Committee recommendations of July 20, 1979, the Honorable Allan Lawrence reported that, "... no acceptable justification could be identified for the establishment of such colonies." In his Progress Report of October 26, 1979, Mr. Lawrence elaborated:

- "major public support" for the concept was not in evidence;
- programs for long-term inmates are being designed on an individual basis for the moment;
- "when numbers warrant", group programs, including penal communities, would be considered.

The conditions cited by Mr. Lawrence can no longer be said to obtain. Limited feed-back suggests that there is a degree of public support for the concept. A Gallup Poll, conducted in January, 1983 (see Annex "C") found 61% of respondents would support an LACC similar to the Islas Marias community. Favorable comment has also been made in the press, by voluntary sector organizations such as the Ontario Association of Corrections and Criminology, the Native Counselling Service of Alberta, and a National meeting of the Citizens Advisory Committee of the CSC. Current economic conditions have also created a situation

where representatives of a number of isolated communities have expressed a receptivity to such a community in their area.

The number of long-term prisoners is also expected to grow due to the build-up in the system of lifers who are ineligible for parole for 10 to 25 years. Currently there are about 200 murderers in penitentiary serving the 25 year non-parolable life term. There are also about 600 second-degree murderers serving between 10 and 25 years before parole eligibility and about 600 inmates who were sentenced to life under other provisions and will be eligible for parole after 7 or 10 years, a total of about 1400. It is anticipated that these numbers will remain stable until about 1990 after which it is estimated that this population will begin to grow, levelling off at around 2300 (1025 first-degree and 1275 second-degree) after the year 2000.

The effects of general prison crowding and the expected population growth up to 1990 will make it all the more difficult to deal with the special needs of long-term prisoners in regular institutions, especially if they are experiencing special problems due to the long-term nature of their sentences. Currently the CSC is equipped to deal with long-term inmates who pose a serious risk of escape or violence by way of maximum security institutions and Special Handling Units. However, special programmes to deal with their particular needs and to offset the harshness of long-term imprisonment have not yet been developed. If special measures such as LACC's are to be contemplated, it would seem wise to do the necessary study and planning now before the number of long-term inmates experiences the growth that is expected.

Terms of Reference

The changing conditions outlined above have increased interest in the concept of LACC's both within and outside of the Ministry. Consequently direction has been given by the Solicitor General, to examine the feasibility of establishing in Canada one or more LACC's that would have:

1. Limited access;

2. Voluntary participation of inmates after serving a minimum of one year in a traditional institution;

3. Voluntary participation of spouses and children of inmates, staff, and civilian workers;

4. Full employment for inmates and possible employment opportunities for some spouses;

5. All essential community services;

6. Reasonable start-up and operating costs.

It has been assumed that, implicit in these Terms of Reference, are the following interpretations:

> **Limited Access** means the absence of public transportation connecting the LACC to any outside community, except that to which access is under the full control of the LACC, or other government officials.

Inmates are long-term inmates. Initially this group will be considered to be comprised of all inmates who will not be eligible for full parole until having served 7 years or who are serving indefinite sentences. This definition could be broadened if it appears that a larger target group is feasible or desirable. This definition would include all lifers, indefinite sentences, and definite sentences greater than 21 years, as discussed more fully in Chapter V(1).

Purposes of the Preliminary Report:

As directed, the LACC Steering Committee and Work Group have limited their discussions to Minister personnel whenever possible. This has restricted the ability of the team to evaluate potential sites or to engage in wide consultations to secure opinions and suggestions from the professional correctional community, interest groups, or the general public. Consequently, work has focused on conducting literature reviews, examining CSC offender information, and consulting with MSG officials. There has also been an initial identification and study of the issues and considerations that will have to be resolved to design an operating LACC, and to plan its implementation. The purposes of this Preliminary Report are:

(1) To provide basic background and contextual information on the concept of LACC's, their history, and possible implementation in Canada.

(2) To provide a preliminary assessment of the viability of the LACC concept, in Canada, within the received Terms of Reference (keeping in mind the limited and tentative nature of much of the data currently at hand).

(3) To recommend next steps: a study/action plan to confirm the viability and feasibility of the concept leading to operational planning and beginning implementation with decision/re-planning points.

(4) To seek authority and direction with regard to proceeding further with the process.

II. LACC MODELS

An early objective identified by the Steering Committee and Work Group was the more precise definition and description of the LACC concept that is being considered. Greater elaboration and precision are necessary both for use as an analytical tool and to facilitate discussion and communication. As long as the LACC concept is not better specified, very different, even contradictory, attributes may be ascribed to the term by different observers. These could range from something akin to a forced-labor concentration camp to a campus-style holiday resort.

To better focus thinking about and analysis of this concept, it is submitted that only the 6 models displayed in Figure I should be considered. These six are reasonably exhaustive keeping within the Terms of Reference.

These six models are comprised of three basic configurations within two different environments. Each of the three configurations could be developed in a context where they are relatively self-sufficient, and self-contained as shown in cells A.1 to A.3 on the "stand-alone" side of the table. Alternatively, as depicted in cells B.1 to B.3, the three configurations could be developed in an environment where there is an adjacent or surrounding community that is functioning and viable and with which the LACC is more or less integrated.

FIGURE 1

SIX POSSIBLE MODELS OF A CANADIAN LACC

A. STAND ALONE		B. SUPPORTING COMMUNITY	
A.1	Compound: distant, or at least independent on a day-to-day basis, from a near-by population centre. Probably supported by distant HQ and supply centres.	B.1	Compound: same as A.1 but adjacent to an existing functioning community on which it relies for services, supplies, staff, social/cultural resources, etc.
A.2	Complete Townsite: Sole occupant and operator of an existing but abandoned townsite.	B.2	Shared Townsite: Full integration into an existing, functioning towsite, utilizing its housing, employment, services, etc.
A.3	Compound and Complete Townsite: Combines A.1 and A.2. All the services and facilities of an existing townsite would be solely occupied by the LACC plus a new or existing compound at or near to the townsite. The compound would provide a base of operations, a transitional entry/exit to/from the LACC for inmates, and could accommodate single inmates, short-termers, or other categories. It could also be developed as a first phase of the LACC.	B.3	Compound and Shared Townsite: as in A.3, combines B.1 and B.2. Compound used as transitional centre, for single and perhaps short-term inmates, and as base of operations; plus maximal integration of inmates and families into surrounding community.

Compound:

The first of the three configurations (A.1 and B.1) would be comprised of a "compound". This could be either pre-existing or constructed and would be the closest in form to more traditional institutions. It would include all essential services and accommodation for inmates and families. In the stand-alone environment the compound would be completely self-contained and would include accommodation for staff and, if required, their families. Administrative and logistical support would be provided from a distant population centre.

If there is a supporting community near the compound, as in B.1, its self-sufficiency would be somewhat modified, though not its self-containment. In this case services, supplies and staff could be drawn from the nearby community, but inmates and families would live in the compound where essential services would be provided. Interaction with the community would be restricted and would occur within the compound rather than in the community.

The compound model might be necessitated by an inability to locate an appropriate townsite to be occupied, an inability to find a functioning community prepared to accept inmates in its midst, or legal restrictions that would require life-sentenced murderers to remain within the confines of a distinct penitentiary facility. It would be the most limited and limiting model with regard to providing an approximation of freedom within a normal community setting.

Townsite:

This model (A.2 and B.2) would operate in an existing townsite either as sole occupant and operator of the town and all of its services, or by sharing its services, housing, and commercial activities with existing residents. The takeover of a complete town (A.2) would in some ways be the less complicated version of this model. It would eliminate the need to coordinate activities and operations with the other residents and to negotiate shared-use terms and conditions for all manner of services and resources. It might also be easier to declare the site a penitentiary and thus provide free movement within. It would mean taking on full responsibility for all community services, many of which the CSC has no experience with, but it might simplify the question of responsibility for those services, functioning like an Armed Forces base under full federal jurisdiction, rather than sharing jurisdiction with the province and municipality. Where a complete townsite is to be occupied, size would be an important consideration. The LACC would have to be large enough to meet the needs of the inmates, staff, and families, but not so large that it would be too costly and difficult to maintain for a relatively small number of residents.

A shared townsite (B.2) would integrate LACC inmates, families, and staff into an existing, functioning, community. They would live in regular housing, work in local employment, utilize local services and generally participate in the life of the town. This would provide the greatest degree of normalcy in living arrangements. It

would also eliminate the need for the CSC to take responsibility for many services with which it is not familiar. It would, however, raise the most difficult problems of negotiating jurisdictional cooperation and shared responsibility. It is also unlikely that many communities that are viable in their own right would willingly accept inmates and their families. This might be possible, however, where a community is clearly dying and the only residents left are local officials and trades people who are hoping to find a new industry to regain its economic health.

Compound and Townsite:

This model (A.3 and B.3) combines the Compound and Townsite models presented above. This configuration assumes that many inmates, staff, and families would be living in accommodation in a nearby townsite either as sole occupants or shared with other townspeople. The compound would be operated simultaneously but for more limited purposes than under A.1 or B.1.

The compound could provide a base of operations for the administrative needs of the total LACC (compound and townsite). It could be used as a transitional centre to accommodate new inmates and families while they are being oriented to the LACC, for single inmates, and for inmates whose families have not yet arrived or who have left either temporarily or prematurely. It could be used, in effect, as a "pre-release" centre for inmates who are being given a trial in the LACC or for their gradual integration into the

townsite. It also could be used for short-term inmates or even work-groups who might come in for a time-limited project before returning to regular institutions.

This combination of a compound and a townsite adds much flexibility to an LACC and a graduated degree of structure and control. An additional advantage would be that it lends itself to a phased-in implementation plan starting with the compound then, using it as a base of operations, extending into the townsite.

It is recommended that A.3 - B.3 be considered the preferred model to which further planning and study is directed. If it proves not to be feasible, planning could be re-directed to A.2 and B.2 and lastly to A.1 - B.1. This priorization would not eliminate any model at this time but would direct further activities to the most preferred configuration. Implementation of any of these models could be planned in stages to provide for a graduated introduction of the concept, and testing of the innovative aspects of the model. An alternative implementation strategy would entail the creation of one particular model, on a reduced scale, as a limited pilot project.

III. VIABILITY OF THE LACC CONCEPT:

On the basis of our current knowledge base, some preliminary statements can be made concerning the viability of an LACC at the conceptual level. Before doing so, however, a number of qualifications must be expressed. First, comments are based on the limited information that was obtained while the study has been restricted to an internal exercise. A great deal more information will have to be collected and evaluated prior to a final decision. Second, many considerations have not yet been fully explored. Important issues must be completely specified before they can be resolved. Third, although the existence of the current study is known to a few outside groups who have provided limited feedback, consultation on a number of fronts has yet to be undertaken. As a result, the following statements are restricted to conceptual feasibility and do not address many of the important operational issues. In this section, viability of the LACC concept is addressed in terms of public acceptance, availability of possible locations, and potential clientelle.

Public Sentiment:

A number of observations indicate there would be support for an LACC-type of facility in Canada today. Certainly, the study group has not detected any strong or automatic opposition to the concept.

The limited feedback received to date might be characterized most aptly as "cautious intrigue". Confidential consultation with the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime and CSC's consultation committee produced a guarded response, but there was clearly a great deal of interest and support for further study. Native groups, such as the Native Counselling Services of Alberta are enthusiastic about the possibility. Their confidential inquiries of some opposition M.P.'s apparently have produced their tacit support. A favourable opinion has recently been expressed on the LACC idea in at least one editorial in a major Canadian newspaper (Toronto Star, Sept. 21, 1981). The Citizen's Advisory Committees of CSC, at their most recent annual meeting (March 17-19, 1983) passed a resolution to encourage the Ministry to give LACC's consideration for long-term offenders. Other interested parties who are known to have expressed support for the LACC concept include: Salvation Army (Corrections Services Division), Union of Solicitor General Employees (Executive Secretary), American Correctional Association, Native Clan of Manitoba, Alliance of Indian and Métis Societies of British Columbia, CSC Advisory Committee on Inmate Employment, Wilderness Group (Mission Institution), and the St. Leonard's Society of Canada.

The previously-mentioned Gallup Poll on isolated prison communities conducted in January, 1983, revealed 61% of a respresentative Canadian sample thought the LACC idea was at least "worth a try" while only 35% indicated it was at best "a doubtful experiment". The concept was viewed most favourably in Quebec (70%) and least favourably in British Columbia (49%) (a summary is presented in Annex "C").

Moreover, since further study of the idea was recommended by the Subcommittee on the Penitentiary System in Canada (1977), proposals to implement such a facility have been received from inmate groups, ex-offenders, and academics. In comparison to other criminal justice programmes and components, the concept of an LACC stands up favourably in terms of public opinion.

Nonetheless, one can expect public opinion to be extremely varied on this issue. It is likely to generate skepticism from some civil libertarians and "hard-liners" alike. A carefully planned consultation and communication strategy will therefore be required. Meetings should include special interest groups and correctional agencies, other levels of government, citizens in potential host sites, and the public at large.

Locations:

The identification of potential locations must be considered if the proposal is to progress beyond the abstract level. A number of settings have emerged as possible sites because of local economic conditions. Typically, the suggested locations are small, single-industry towns in which the industry has lost its economic viability and faces closure. Without an economic base, the continued existence of the community is threatened.

Although a call to nominate sites has not been issued, internal suggestions have included Schefferville, Quebec, Uranium City, Saskatchewan, and Tasu, British Columbia. In addition, a proposal has been received to establish an LACC on Nigei Island, British Columbia. The last setting, which is off the coast of Vancouver Island, differs from the others in that it is currently unihabited, but could support a forestry-based camp.

These settings are presented only as possible sites. More will likely be nominated when it is publicly disclosured that the possibility of an LACC is under study. The four locations are described more fully in Annex "D". They illustrate the variety of settings in which an LACC might be located.

Interest has been expressed by representatives (occupants and/or owners) of each of these locations in the last few months. Contacts have been made with the Mayor of Schefferville, townspeople of Uranium City, management of Westfrob Mines at Tasu, and the British Columbia Forestry Service with respect to Nigei Island. Considerable interest and in some cases, actual enthusiasm, was expressed about locating a family and work-oriented correctional community in each of these sites.

Resident Composition:

As originally conceived, the LACC idea was oriented to long-term offenders and their families. Taking indefinite sentences, life sentences and definite sentences of 21 years

or more as long-term, there are approximately 1,650 inmates currently in federal penitentiaries, 32% of whom (525) claim to be married or in a common law relationship. Obviously, if offenders with shorter sentences were allowed into the program or regulations on marital status were relaxed, many more inmates would become eligible. For example, broadening eligibility to sentences of 15 years or more generates approximately 2000 inmates of whom 662 claim a marital relationship. Also, Strategic Planning projections indicate the ratio of long-term offenders in the general inmate population will continue to increase over the next two decades. A more detailed description of the type of offender who might be considered for an LACC and the potential number of inmates available is presented in Annex "E".

Concern has been expressed that some inmates prefer maximum security facilities in urban centres, to reduced security rural facilities. However, many offenders clearly woudl choose a more remote environment. This is illustrated by the "Wilderness Group" of inmates in the Pacific Region and those offenders who willingly work in bush-camp facilities.

The above figures only suggest that there maybe a sufficient number of eligible candidates. Little is known about long-term offenders' actual interest in participating, the stability of their families, and the acceptability of the concept to their spouses. To this end, an inmate survey is being designed and will be initiated in the next phase of investigation.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, the LACC concept remains viable when considered against the limited information we now have. No reason has been found to dismiss the concept of a remotely located correctional community. Specifically, public sentiment, site availability, and client eligibility do not provide grounds for rejecting the notion of a Canadian LACC.

Perhaps the most persuaive argument to continue the feasibility study, and to plan the implemetation, of an LACC, is the potential effects on inmates of long-term incarceration in traditional institutions. Although the evidence is inconclusive, there is a widely-held belief that these effects will be severely debilitating. In some cases the result may be desperate acts of violence by those who have given up hope of release, in others, psychological deterioration, suicidal acts and irreversible institutionalization may occur. In most cases family and social ties will completely break down.

If these predictions are correct, the evidence may not be available for some time, and only after serious problems have been experienced both by inmates and the penitentiaries in which they are held. The LACC may provide one mechanism to help offset these undesireable side-effects for those long-term inmates who do not require the rigid controls of a regular penitentiary. Moreover, beginning this process now will allow more careful planning and cautious introduction of the concept without an atmosphere of extreme urgency.

To more decisively establish the feasibility of the concept and to plan for its possible implementation, further refinements and investigations are required. Specifically three areas have been identified in which much work remains to be done:

1. Greater specification of models and sites must be undertaken. This includes refining the suggested models and matching them to potential locations.

2. A study of the many issues that arise as one considers the implementation of an LACC must be undertaken. The analysis should include a description of major issues, necessary decisions, and resulting implications for the different models.

3. Finally, a consultation and public information plan needs to be developed if the program is to be favourably received and have any chance of acceptance and ultimate implementation.

These three areas will be further discussed in the next three sections.

IV. SPECIFICATION OF MODELS AND SITES:

A firm judgement about the operational feasibility of one or more LACC's can only be made when it is possible to examine, even hypothetically, a specific model at a specific site. To arrive at a point where feasibility can be examined with some precision, it will be necessary to engage in an iterative process which, stated simply:

- defines and elaborates the preferred model in operational terms;

- identifies available sites and examines their potentials and limitations;

- matches models to sites;

- further adjusts and defines the model;

- eliminates sites as unacceptable;

- after several iterations, arrives at a short-list of models and sites where there is a workable "fit".

Once one or more such model/site configurations have been identified it will be possible to examine specific operational problems and requirements, to examine jurisdictional interactions, and to estimate costs.

If this project is to proceed, model and site specification would be an early emphasis. Beginning with a preferred model, its operational components will be identified and described. Concurrently, a communication plan, as set out in section VI, should be initiated to make it known that LACC's are under active study, so that potential sites may be identified. The requirements of the model will be used for initial screening of sites. At the same time the kinds of sites that are available may lead to compromises being made and the model adjusted. Adjustments to the model may also flow from recognition of particular requirements or potentials of certain sites that fit most other criteria. A survey of inmates will also be undertaken concurrently to determine more precisely the size and distribution of inmates and their families who may be eligible and willing to reside in an LACC. Knowledge gained through the survey will feed back into the model/site specification process. As these processes must proceed simultaneously and interactively, the manpower concentration during the next phase of the project will be considerable. Offender Programs and Technical Services Branches of the CSC will particularly need to be heavily represented beginning with this phase.

V. IDENTIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF ISSUES:

As the iterative process discussed above proceeds to better define the LACC operational model, the acceptable sites, and the kind and number of eligible inmates, a number of practical, operational issues will be addressed. Many of these are discussed in detail in Annex "F". Even a cursory review of the Annex confirms the broad scope and complexity of the task. It is almost inevitable that yet further issues will emerge as the project proceeds.

In addition there are a number of generic issues, or types of issues, that must be addressed regardless of the specific model and site that are ultimately chosen.

These issues will take on somewhat different parameters under different models, but in every case will need to be addressed and will have some similar implications. They will require early consideration so that their implications are clear with regard to the model chosen, and so that they may be resolved at the same time as operational feasibility is being determined. The major generic issues are discussed below.

1. Inmate Eligibility/Availability:

The usual rationale for advocating LACC's is that they would offset the debilitating effects of regular penitentiaries which are assumed to be particularly harsh for inmates serving the longest sentences. Therefore, lifers without eligibility for parole until having served 25

years are considered primary candidates. Currently there are only about 200 such inmates in penitentiary, their numbers grow by about 30 per year. Nearly 90% of these are still held in maximum security institutions, about 60% of them in Ontario and Quebec.

A major element of the more normal environment that is usually expected of an LACC is that it should include families of inmates. Only about 30% of the 25-year lifer group claim a married or common-law relationship on admission. At the present time nothing is known about how many inmates and spouses would be prepared to re-locate to a remote location. Just the three criteria of (1) a 25-year non-parolable life sentence, (2) a married or common-law relationship, and (3) voluntary participation, would reduce this group to a very small number, some of which would be screened out for other reasons such as emotional instability.

Therefore, although the long-term lifers are being regarded as the first priority for whom to plan, it seems inevitable that the criteria will have to be broadened and other inmate groups included. The first such broadening would logically be to other types of long-term or potentially long-term inmates. The Ministry Committee on Long-Term Imprisonment has adopted a definition of Long Term Prisoners (LTP) comprised of several graduated sub-groups. These are set out in the following table, showing their current numbers and parole eligibility restrictions:

	Number as of May 15, 1983	Cumulative Total	Eligible for Parole After	Maximum Sentence
1st degree murder	198	198	25 years	life
2nd degree murder	625	823	10 - 25 years	life
Other lifers	575	1398	7 or 10 years	life
Indefinite	131	1529	3 years	life
Definite Sentences 21 years and over	121	1650	7 years	21 years plus

As can be seen, this total group numbers over 1600. Although this is a much larger group, many are or will soon be eligible for parole. Entering an LACC could serve to eliminate for those inmates hoping for parole, the opportunity to be "tested" on gradual release to a regular community by way of TA or day parole. Unless the LACC could fit into a pre-release plan, this could be a powerful discentive for all but those who have given up hope of parole. (Additional decriptive data on long-term prisoners is provided in Annex "E".)

If married long-term prisoners do not provide a large enough pool to draw from, consideration could be given to unmarried long-term inmates, and then to married inmates irrespective of their sentence length. Single, short-term inmates would be regarded as having the least to gain from an LACC but, if there was an abundance of work opportunities at the LACC site, and appropriate accommodation was available, such as the compound in models A.3 or B.3, they might be considered for employment on work gangs while resident in a compound area.

In contemplating the broadening of criteria it is important to keep in view the primary rationale for LACC's: to offset the effects of imprisonment for long-term prisoners and to allow the maintenance of family ties. The further we move from these objectives the greater the need to provide a different, or at least broader, rationale such as lower cost, rehabilitative value, pre-release preparation, socially useful work etc.

The question of number and type of inmates will interact intimately with the specifications of models and sites. For example, a particular site may require a certain optimal population size to operate it effectively. This could require an expansion of criteria to recruit enough inmates and families, and this different mix may require different programs and facilities to meet their more heterogeneous needs.

2. Special Inmate Groups:

In addition to eligibility considerations based on marital status, sentence length, and personal suitability, some consideration should be given to special groups:

a) the two linguisitc groups;
b) female inmates;
c) Natives;

a) Consideration may have to be given to the advisability of having two unilingual LACC's in each of the official languages, one bilingual institution, or a single

unilingual institution, as a pilot to be replicated in the other language once it has been tried and evaluated.

b) It should be decided if the LACC is to be co-educational. If the chosen model includes families and/or is integrated with an existing community where male and female residents are represented, the co-educational choice would seem to be appropriate. This would make it a necessity to have female staff on site, whereas female staff would be optional in a male-only LACC.

c) At least one proposal has been made to establish an Native-oriented LACC. This could pose problems of selecting an adequate population size, but cannot be ruled out on this basis given the current inadequatcy of our data on this subject. Perhaps the greatest drawback to such a proposal, if it is the only LACC tried, is that it could not be seen as a fair test of the concept for the general inmate population.

3. Family Considerations:

The expectation of family involvement in the LACC raises a set of issues and considerations that are generally outside of the CSC experience. If family participation is, in effect, a prerequisite for inmate residency in an LACC, and either necessary or optional for staff, it will be necessary for the CSC to clarify its minimal level of responsibility for their general welfare.

To attract staff with appropriate training and experience to the LACC from other locations it is likely that special benefits will be required: bonuses to offset te higher cost of northern living, family re-location and living allowances, leave and transportation for family visits if families do not accompany staff, etc. The experience of other departments with norther pasts will have to be examined, and the feasibility of special benefits explored with Treasury Board officials.

At the present time we have no reliable indicator of the number and type of staff who might be interested in an LACC posting. This may be impossible to determine until there is a better picture of the probable location, and special benefits that may be available. Even then a survey would have to be conducted to more precisely determine staff availability. Some preliminary indicators may come from consultations with USGE officials.

5. Security - Policing - Discipline:

In the LACC the major element will be the inaccessability of the site itself. This feature will be expected to control escapes and thus protect the public <u>outside</u> of the LACC. Internally the "peace and good order" of the LACC should come from:

a) effective selectionof stable, self-controlled inmates;

b) preventive case-management and social service intervention;

c) policing and disciplinary procedures;

d) judicious use of transfers.

a) In addition to criteria for eligibility, case management should develop a thorough evaluation and assessment process to identify suitable inmates from among those who are eligible. This process should then have an on-going review built in to monitor and re-assess LACC inmates regularly.

b) Based on regular case-management contacts and re-assessments, the CMO should be the focal point of identifying inmate and family needs, problems and pressures in the LACC and to provide or arrange for counselling or services to offset problemsn that could cause problem behaviour. In extreme cases transfer back to a regular institution (or perhaps into a more structured arrangement in the compound area if this is a feature of the lACC) to avoid problem behaviour.

c) Responsibility for police and security services will be determined in part by the location chosen for the LACC. There might be a local police force or not. In the former case, a close collaborative relationship with LACC security staff will be essential.

If the LACC is fully operated by the CSC policing could be provided by the RCMP detachment. This would seem the only possible alternative in this case since family members would not come under CSC authority and CSC does

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b) Based on regular case-management contacts and re-assessments, the Case Management Officer (CMO) should be the focal point of identifying inmate and family needs, problems, and pressures in the LACC and to provide or arrange for counselling or services to offset stress that could cause problem behaviour. In extreme cases transfer back to a regular institution (or perhaps into a more structured arrangement in the compound area, if this is a feature of the LACC) may be necessary to avoid problem behaviour.

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If the LACC is fully operated by the CSC, policing could be provided by an RCMP detachment, perhaps with support from the military. This would seem the only possible alternative in this case since family members would not come under CSC authority and CSC does not possess the authority or expertise to fully police a total community. The different spheres of authority of police and CSC personnel with regard to inmates will have to be carefully established.

The inmate disciplinary process will have to be modified in an LACC. It might be eliminated altogether, relying only on peer pressure, administrative sanctions, and regular police services

to maintain control. On the other hand, a wholly unique system might be initiated. Present procedures will be largely inappropriate for the more open and unstructured environment of an LACC.

d) The disruption of family life caused by the transfer-out of an inmate will be a powerful dissincentive to taking this final step due to deteriorating adjustment or behaviour. Nonetheless it would remain the ultimate sanction. If a compound exists in conjunction with a townsite, this could offer a valuable "time out" for inmates to be carefully reassessed and to resolve problems or regain their adjustment before returning to the community. This would provide a "safety-valve" while minimizing the disruption of family life.

6. Control of Alcohol:

An important issue is the control of alcohol. Many inmates are known to have alcohol-related problems of criminality - many lifers have murdered while under the influence. Moreover, alcohol abuse in acknowledged to be a chronic problem in isolated communities. Complete restriction would be difficult in a mixed community but some effective measures of (a) control and (b) remedial programs (A.A., alcohol education etc.) will have to be considered.

7. Inmate Employment:

Inmate employment in some productive activity is essential for a successful LACC. Inmates may be employed in a variety of local public service and commercial jobs. They might also be involved in some form of academic study or a major industrial operation. Without such employment the effects of an isolated existence without meaningful activity would be extremely stressful. Full employment, therefore, will have to be ensured. This should not pose a major problem in most locations.

8. Legal Issues:

Many legal issues will only be clearly identified as specific models and sites are defined. Some generic areas that will require examination are:

a. Site acquisition: drafting of pertinent land acquisition agreements.

b. Management of LACC: Determining if the LACC is a penitentiary as defined by Section 2 of the Penitentiary Act. If not, explore the possibility of designation by Cabinet pursuant to s.2(1.2) of the Act.

c. Examination of current enactments and international covenants to determine whether provisions respecting treatment of inmates are adhered to.

d. Selection of inmates: ensure that both criteria for transfer and procedures for transfer are lawful (duty to act fairly, Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Canadian Human Rights Act, etc.)

e. If families are living on site, examine constitutional implications of:

i. provision of health care and social services;

ii. education;

iii. interrelation with provincial jurisdiction.

VI. CONSULTATION AND PUBLIC INFORMATION:

Target Groups:

The strategy for consultation and public information will depend in part on the nature of the site to be chosen and the different "publics" affected. There are different levels of "publics" to be addressed and each one may require a different strategy. Some of these publics are:

1) The Canadian Public in general;

2) Parliament, Cabinet, and Central Agencies

3) The professional criminal justice Community (Judges, lawyers, police, federal and provincial officals etc).;

4) The voluntary criminal justice community (CAPC, J.H.S., C.A.E.F.S., NAACJ, ASRSQ, etc.);

5) U.S.G.E. and CSC staff in general;

6) Inmates, particularly those in the long-term category;

7) Residents near any potential or chosen site;

8) Local representatives: municipal and provincial politicans and officials, organized citizen group leaders;

Objectives:

A variety of public information and consultation activities will be required to address the sectors outlined above. They will vary in their form and intensity and be oriented to the following objectives:

1. To assess public opinion and stimulate feedback;

2. to inform the public about the parameters and purposes of the concept, hopefully to form a positive public image and receptivity;

3. to receive and resolve concerns and potential opposition;

4. to receive suggestions and proposals from interest groups.

At the more general level, and with regard to target groups with only general interest, communication strategies will concentrate on public information activities. With regard to those publics with a more direct interest, activities involving consultation will be developed.

Public Information Strategy:

1. Place the issue before the public and test the public mood on the concept itself by issuing an initial press release, including the subject in

Ministerial speeches, including it in Ministry policy and communications documents, and authorizing officials to speak publicly of the concept and the Ministry's interest in it.

2. Once the concept has been adequately introduced and public reaction begins to filter through, try to discuss the topic through open-line shows, place on agendas of seminars being addressed by the Minister and/or officials, and use features in the print and electronic media citing positive examples in other countries.

3. Keep the Solicitor General fully briefed to respond to questions in the House and elsewhere.

4. Once a potential site has been identified, the composition of the community including its socio-economic and political structure will be quickly assessed. It is important to know the attitude of the community about the site and what kind of action these attitudes are likely to prompt. This information can be obtained through interviews with key people in the community and or written surveys.

5. A strategy will then be developed to deal with community concerns. Specific answers to their questions about the project will be provided. Information should be specific, clear and as pragmatic as possible i.e. type of inmates living on the site, type of security, safeguards to reduce risk of failures etc.

6. Communications will emphasize features of the LACC that explain and support its positive features:

- it will allow inmates to work at productive employment, potentially to earn a salary , pay taxes and support themselves and their families;
- inmates will only be selected if they are judged to be minimum security risks within an LACC environment;
- the limited-access nature of the site will provide protection for the public away from the site;
- jobs may be undertaken that are of benefit to the community but not attractive to private enterprise;
- family relationships will be maintained;
- psychological deterioration will be averted, personal betterment encouraged;
- cost savings will be emphasized if they can be reliably anticipated;
- benefits to regional and local economies can be cited when estimates are available.

Consultation Strategy

1) Advise criminal justice interest groups of the MSG interest in LACC's by mailing out a background paper based largely on the contents of this Preliminary Report; invite comment, suggestions and requests for ad hoc direct discussions;

2) Request consultation meetings with major special interest groups: CACP, CAPC, NAACJ;

3) Appoint a major figure from the voluntary sector to the Task Force proposed in Section VII;

4) Place for discussion on agenda of appropriate Consultation bodies: Heads of Corrections, Deputies and Ministers meetings; etc.

5) Brief central agency and other departmental officials as appropriate and request Cabinet authorization at earliest feasible point;

6) As a site or a short-list is identified, initiate discussions at provincial and municipal levels with officials and/or Ministers;

7) Depending on community assessment, and feedback from consultations and public information, initiate consultation with local community groups.

The above strategies, both for public information and consultation will be on-going until implementation or abandonment of the project. Emphasis will shift among them over time, as the project advances and public reaction is better known.

VII WORKPLAN

Output:

- The output of the Workplan will be a written report specifying and priorizing acceptable locations for LACCs, fully describing the physical and program elements of the appropriate LACC model(s) for the site(s), including the capital, O&M, and PY costs, and presenting a detailed Implementation Plan, to be phased in if necessary, to operationalize a specific model on a specific site, or several optional models on several optional sites.

Month 1:

- Solicitor General to appoint Task Force, comprising Senior Officials from CSC, Parole Board, Secretariat, and RCMP. Consideration will be given to the addition of representatives from outside the Ministry.
- Senior CSC official (Deputy Commissioner level) to be named as Chairman of Task Force.
- A project manager (possibly Bureau of Management Consulting) be named to assume a Secretariat responsibility for the Task Force.
- Background paper to be prepared and consultation/public information strategies initiated.

- Task Force to develop ISSUES to be studied within constraints.
- Task Force to decide on up to 10 (linked) topics of study. Likely topics include the following:

  1. Operational specifications developed by CSC in accordance with preferred model;
  2. Site evaluations vis-a-vis operational specifications;
  3. Resident composition;
  4. Family and Social Welfare considerations;
  5. Legal Considerations;
  6. Staffing and union-related issues;
  7. Consultation and communications with public and other goverments;
  8. Security, Discipline and Policing.

- Study leaders to be provided either by the Ministry or by project manager (BMC); each leader would be required to devote approximately 40 consecutive working days to his/her assignment plus 10 days of Task Force meetings. It is assumed that 10 studies at most, would be needed. Subsequent cost figures are based on this estimate.

Month 2 & 3:

- Special studies in progress.
- BMC supervise/liaise with study leaders and coordinate interchange of information between study leaders and Task Force around common issues and for necessary decisions.
- Receive submissions from special interest groups.

Month 4:

- Special study reports received, examined by BMC and presented to Task Force.
- Task Force will accept/amend/reject studies' recommendations.

Month 5:

- Revision to studies if needed.
- BMC to prepare first draft report for Task Force approval. Report will integrate study findings and consolidate recommendations into a detailed Implementation Plan including cost estimates.

Month 6:

- Study revisions received.
- BMC prepares Second draft for Task Force approval.

Month 7:

- Final Task Force report submitted to Deputy Solicitor General for presentation to Solicitor General

Estimated Cost:

BMC		$ 60,000
Study Leaders	(10x50x300)	$150,000
Outside TF Member (20 days x $300)		$ 6,000
Study Leader Travel		$ 30,000
T.F. Member Travel		$ 5,000
TOTAL		$251,000

VIII RECOMMENDATIONS:

Based on its examination of the available data and background information on LACC's, and its preliminary examination of the identified issues, the LACC Steering Committee and Work Group conclude that the concept within the parameters set by our Terms of Reference is viable in the Canadian context. Its feasiblity could not, at this stage, be fully assessed. There is no issue or obstacle that, at this juncture, is clearly prohibitive. The Steering Committee therefore submits the following recommendations:

1) That Ministerial authority be sought to further examine the feasibility of the LACC concept and to plan its implementation.

2) That the LACC models depicted in figure 1 (p. 9) as A.3-B.3 (Townsite and Compound) be adopted as the preferred model, with levels A.2-B.2 (Townsite) and A.1-B.1 (Compound) as second and third levels of priority respectively.

3) That a Task Force by appointed and authorized to further examine the feasibility of implementing one or more LACC's and to recommend one or more appropriate and available sites.

4) That an implementation plan be developed to operationalize a specific LACC model on a specific site if the concept is assessed to be feasible.

5) That approval be given to the Workplan set out in Section VII, utilizing the services of MSG peronnel, approximately 10 Study leaders (some under contract) and the Bureau of Management Consulting, if required.

6) That the resources set out in the Workplan be authorized.

7) That public disclosure of, and consultation about, the LACC study, be authorized.

8) That approval in principle be given by the Solicitor General to seek the necessary resources to implement the LACC, a final decision to be taken when the Task Force submits its Report, Implementation Plan, and Cost Estimates.

ANNEX "A"

An Historical Review of Penal Colonies and Their Variations

Introduction

It becomes apparent from a review of the literature that traditional forms of confinement have proven largely unsuccessful in bringing about positive changes in the task of "rehabilitating" the offender. A number of dominant themes have emerged from these studies in relation to the debilitating effects of long-term incarceration, which are the products of the limiting conditions of an institutional environment. McKay, Jaywardene, and Reedie (1979) enumerated specific consequences for the offender that arise often as a result of confinement for prolonged periods of time: anxiety and stress, "prisonization," "institutionalization," prison neuroses and/or psychoses, maladaptive changes in measures of self-concept, intelligence, abilities, attitudes, and morale. Our modern prison system, which is based on the traditional principles of isolation and control, produces social, sensory, physical, and sexual deprivations by means of the following (ACA, 1981):

- separation from family and dependents;
- daily life in a highly abnormal social atmosphere;
- almost total loss of freedom, individual initiative, and
- decision-making;

- prolonged periods of sensory and sexual deprivation; and
- despite rehabilitative intentions, a lack of opportunities to learn and practice useful work and social skills.

The effects of a closed and highly regimented prison system can work against the eventual return of the offender to the community. The Canadian criminal justice system has reached the stage at which it is actively seeking change, given the difficulties which are apparent in the current prison system. The challenge is to identify a solution which will remedy some of the difficulties inherent in prison confinement.

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System of Canada (1977) recommended that a feasibility study be undertaken to determine the viability of creating penal colonies for a special population of inmates, the long-term offender. In the search for alternative means or environments to treat the offender, the concept of a penal colony is not novel <u>per se</u>; at one time it was a common solution to the problem of dealing with offenders and misfits in society. Canada's experience with penal colonies, however, has been limited to its part in transporting convicts to Australia, and to the consideration given at one time to using Canada as a potential British penal colony (Parker, 1976). What is being proposed now, however, is the idea of salvaging the old concept of penal colonies and adapting it to today's environment. In essence, it would mean that a

remote and generally inaccessible area within Canada would have to be located in order to implement the concept of a penal colony for long-term offenders.

Version of penal colonies have been used in many countries and cultures at different times. Indeed, several exist today. This paper will identify several kinds of penal colonies, briefly describe their characteristics, and suggest some of the advantages and disadvantages that would be associated with these colonies in our criminal justice system.

1. The Classic Penal Colony

Perhaps one of the best-known example is the "classic" penal colony, used as early as the sixteenth century and as late as the nineteenth. Typically, this system involved the transportation of large numbers of convicts to a specific remote destination where they were supervised under high-security conditions. The practice of transporting convicts to colonies far from the home country was used by England, France, Russia, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and other European countries, as well as Latin American countries such as Mexico, Chile, and Ecuador (Bowker, 1980). To this day, the classic penal colony has a notorious reputation and for good reason. England, for example, in 1718 transported all felons serving sentences of three years or more. The rationale was to relieve overcrowded prisons in the home country and to banish undesirables from society. To save money, the government hired private contractors to handle convict transportation.

To maximize profit, overcrowding, underfeeding, and generally mistreating convicts was common place. The penal colonies were characterized by inhumane living conditions and exploitation of prisoner labour by governments and private businesses. The result was an extremely high mortality rate.

There were variations on this theme but in general these conditions prevailed in most colonies. Some of the better known penal colonies included Devil's Island used by France; Norfolk Island, Australia, America, and Tasmania used by Britain; and even Siberia which is used today by the Soviet Union. A major benefit associated with the establishment of the classic penal colony was the colonization and settlement of remote wilderness areas. As well, the profits gained from inmate labour and production represented great financial savings for the governments concerned.

The concept of penal colonies thus had its roots in the use of transportation by many societies as early as the sixteenth century. The defiencies of the classic penal colony are abundently obvious -- it was operated in an inhumane and coercive fashion (Mandel, 1978) which led to its ultimate demise in the penal systems of many countries.

2. Penal Communities

Several penal colonies still exist today and represent a modified or reformed version of the classic penal colony. Such colonies come under the heading of "penal communities". They are homesteading communities where both

staff as well as inmates and their families live. The penal communities are generally located in remote areas which, because of their inaccessibility, require only minimum security. There are few guards, walls, and bars, resulting in a reasonably relaxed atmosphere and freedom of movement for the offender. Job opportunities vary according to location and the economic resources available but generally include some form of agricultural activity or technical industry which enables many colonies to pay their own operating expenses in addition to providing vocational training and financial compensation to inmates. The purpose of penal communities is to simulate a "normal" community and to provide incentives to offenders to change their lives and attitudes, not to mention the creation of an economically efficient and effective alternative to the traditional prison system. Emphasis is placed on preserving and improving inmate-family relationships and fostering active involvement and responsibility in the community. Discipline consists of deprivation of privileges and, as a last resort, return of the offender to prison. Yet another aim of the penal community system is to create a harmonious atmosphere -- a therapeutic community conducive to fostering better relations between staff and inmates. It serves to reduce the potential for "prisonization", to improve staff morale, and increase job performance (ACA, 1981; Bowker, 1980; Hopper, 1969; Raval, 1980). While there are few statistics available to indicate the degree of rehabilitative success of penal communities, it is evident that many of the social, sensory, sexual and physical deprivations associated with prison confinement may be minimized in the penal community system.

Variations of the penal community concept are to be found in the Mexican Penal Colony at Islas Marias (ACA, 1981; Hopper, 1969; Jewell, 1957), the Philippine's Penal Colony (Bowker, 1981; Hopper, 1969; Raval, 1980) and the Soviet Correctional Labour Colony Settlements (Eraksin, 1978; Gorle, 1978; Smirnov, n.d.). While there are cross-cultural differences between these countries, it is possible to identify common objectives and implementation procedures.

For the sake of brevity this paper will confine itself to a discussion of the Mexican Penal Colony at Islas Marias, which is a penal homesteading community. In March, 1981 members of the American Correctional Association, as well as a representative of the Correctional Service of Canada, Deputy Commissioner John Braithwaite, travelled to the Islas Marias Penal Colony, which is an island off Mexico's Pacific Coast, to conduct a systematic study of its physical layout, population, administration, economy, and security system.

The Islas Marias Penal Colony has approximately eight hundred prisoners selected from those offenders serving time for murder, assaults, other serious crimes, or from those with long records of previous offenses. Inmates are sentenced to terms of from one to ten years (ACA, 1981). While the island is run on a family penal concept, prisoners must display at least six months of good behavior before being allowed permission to live in private, modest quarters with their spouses and children. Common-law relationships are permitted (Goetting, 1982) and a bordello is provided for the use of single men (ACA, 1981). Inmates are free to roam the island's thirty-four thousand acres and to choose

an occupation. The wages they receive are used in part to support their families, the rest becomes compulsory savings or "gate money" for when they leave the island. Profits are used to maintain the colony and the current objective is to become ninety percent self-sufficiency which it is hoped will be attained in the near future (ACA, 1981). Inmates earn one day of sentence remission for every two days of satisfactory work and behavior. If they persistently misbehave, they are returned to a prison on the mainland. The penal colony is under the jurisdiction of the Federal Department of Coordinated Services for Crime Prevention and Social Readaptation. Staff members are all civil servants who are required to work at least one year on the island.

The Islas Marias Penal Colony was a "classic" penal colony until 1971 when the Mexican government transformed it into a more humane, family-oriented facility (ACA, 1981). The colony is administered by a director, described as a "benevolent dictator" (ACA, 1981), and full services and facilities are provided on the island by various government agencies, including power, engineering, investigative staff, medical staff, chiefs of villages, human-public works, agriculture, education, communication, transportation, and they navy. Security is provided by a small naval unit which is responsible for both water patrol and island security. Staff generally live separately from the inmates in one of the five adjoining villages on the island. The children of the island are described as being of primary importance with no distinction being made between children of inmates and children of staff. All inmates and children are required to attain at least a primary education and male children, at

the age of thirteen, are either returned to their relatives or are transferred to a special residential school on the mainland. Daily life on the island has been described as relaxed, with few incidents of violence or misbehavior (ACA, 1981). Statistics regarding the cost effectiveness and overall efficiency of the penal colony are unavailable, as yet.

3. Remote Training Communities

A third model is the "remote training community" -- a correctional community facility in a wilderness setting. The emphasis in this model is on the treatment of a special population of offenders with a life-skills-type program (Mandel, 1978). Generally, the programs in a remote training community possess two essential attributes: (a) they provide physical and mental challenges as well as adventure and (b) they offer an experiental education process designed to promote personal growth and identity (Winterdyk, 1982). There is some empirical evidence that psychological and behavioral benefits do arise from these programs, including a reduction in recidivism, greater interpersonal skills, improved self-concept, and social acceptance (Winterdyk, 1982). In the past, these programs have been used variously for juvenile offenders, minimum security adult offenders, drug users, and other assorted groups believed to benefit from experience and co-operation with others (Winterdyk, 1982). The purpose of the program is to provide offenders with creative and constructive work, normally not available in prisons, while ensuing satisfaction in the form of wages for work done and, in the process, teaching them more socially acceptable behavior.

The precise nature of these programs often varies according to the population of offender being treated. The Outward Bound programs, which are currently in use in Ontario, are oriented towards treating groups of juvenile offenders (Golins, 1977, 1980; Kelly, 1971). The Outward Bound Schools are located in isolated areas and provide courses which involve the mastery of such outdoor activities as backpacking, mountaineering, canoeing, and other physical and mental wilderness problem solving experiences. The program is designed to foster self-confidence, responsible decision-making, physical conditioning, and social skills through cooperation and interaction in small primary groups in the course of achieving wilderness objectives (Kelly, 1971). The Outward Bound program originated in Britain during World War II when it was used to teach merchant seamen the physical and psychological aspects of survival (Golins, 1977). The programs have been adapted to provide a cost-effective alternative to the incarceration of juvenile delinquents and there is some evidence that they provide psychological and behavioral benefits (Golins, 1980). A similar program is provided by the Development through Adventure, Responsibility, and Education (D.A.R.E.) project at Portage Lake, Ontario, for a small group of training school juvenile delinquents (Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1973). The D.A.R.E. project was largely unsuccessful in terms of reducing recidivism but this finding was accounted for by the fact that the boys were returned at the end of the program to their homes and the backgrounds which had contributed to their delinquency in the first place.

4. Open Prisons

A fairly recent development in the criminal justice systems of many countries has been the creation of "open prisons". These "prisons without bars" (Jones & Cornes, 1977) constitute a fourth version of the penal colony concept. They are open with respect to their architecture, security, management and administration. There are no physical precautions against escape, that is, bars, walls, and guards are absent. Few restrictions are made on the movements of inmates and the job training and education of offenders usually takes place in the free community. Generally, open prisons are used in a minimum security cases where inmates stay at the end of their sentence before being totally released into the community (Heilmann, 1978). Currently, open prison facilities exist in the United Kingdom, Japan, Israel, Norway (Heilmann, 1978; Jones & Cornes, 1977), India (Baghel, 1980; Singh, 1979), and Denmark (Ingstrup, 1979). The overall purpose of these programs is to reduce alienation from normative society and to encourage self-discipline and a sense of responsibility in inmates (Singh, 1979). In the process, it is felt that inmates may learn a more law-abiding lifestyle by being near a free community and through the preservation of the inmate's ties to family and friends. The open prison system is built on a sense of trust and respect in the inmate. The onus is on the offender to adhere to the rules and regulations of the program. The quality of the staff,

therefore, in this type of setting is of fundamental importance. The staff is expected to be a combination of "guide, philosopher, teacher, friend, psychologist, economist, and protector" (Baghel, 1980). It is believed that every offender should pass through an open prison prior to release in order to "normalize" the environment and improve the rehabilitative process (Baghel, 1980).

British open prisons, for example, were created to reduce the "institutionalization" and "criminalization" processes which are believed to occur in closed prisons and to implement a regime that is "less stereotyped and controlling, and makes more 'normal' social learning experiences possible for inmates (Jones & Cornes, 1977). This reform is made possible by making the boundaries which separate the prison environment from that of the surrounding community more permeable:

> The open system reduces the feelings of social isolation acquired in the typical prison environment;... the open prison is a satisfactory step between the conventional prison and the outside world;... it is a workable device for dealing with the offender who needs more structure than probation affords, more control than can be found in a hostel, but less supervision than that provided in a closed institution (Heilmann, 1978: 14).

The British have modified abandoned service camps, military hospitals, and deteriorating manor houses into open prison facilities. Only lower risk offenders are allowed to participate in this program and the onus is then on them to resist the temptation to escape. One inmate of an open prison aptly describes the dilemma the system presents to the offender: "In a closed prison, one spends every waking hour figuring out how to escape. In an open prison, one spends every waking hour figuring out how not to escape" (Heilmann, 1980:11). A sense of growing responsibility and self-discipline is attributed to those offenders who obey the rules of the system; those who attempt to escape are immediately returned to a walled institution. There are currently in Britain eleven open borstals for young offenders and thirteen open prisons for adult inmates (Heilmann, 1978:5). Offenders are generally employed in either community work, technical trades, or farming. The open prison system is viewed as a more cost-effective and humane one than the traditional closed prison type (Baghel, 1977).

While Canada does not incorporate an open prison in its penal system, *per se*, many of its programs share similar features and objectives. In Canada's minimum security prisons, for instance, inmates enjoy a more relaxed regime than in higher security ones and are usually eligible for day parole or temporary absence programs. Community-based non-institutional programs enable offenders to work in the free community and, consequently, increase their social skills and opportunity to react to normal circumstances and learn appropriate behavior. Similarly, half-way houses or

community based residential centres (CRC) are useful in reorientating parolees or ex-offenders back into society. Therapeutic communities have also been established in Canada, although their practices are a little more restrictive than CRCs and are mainly used to treat addicts as opposed to easing the re-adjustment of the recently released (Moyer, 1978).

The advantages of the open prison system are clear: (1) It provides a cost-effective and humane alternative to the closed prison; (2) inmates are given work opportunities in the free community which enable them to gain experience, skills, and wages; (3) in terms of rehabilitation, the program creates more normal social learning experiences for inmates and strengthens ties to the free community; (4) staff-inmate relationships are less constrained and alienative and more interactive; (5) sensory, sexual, physical, and social deprivations associated with closed prisons are minimized in an open system.

Several disadvantages of the open prison system can also be identified. In the first place, the open prison is obviously not a realistic solution to the problem of finding an alternative prison environment to treat the long-term offender. The rate of escapes from open prisons is reasonably high even though the program is limited to a very select group of inmates (Heilmann, 1978). In terms of reducing recidivism, open prisons appear to be no more successful than the traditional closed prisons (Heilmann, 1978). While the general success of open prisons still

remains a controversial issue (Jones & Cornes, 1977), it would be wrong to conclude that the system is not a viable alternative for special minimum security inmate populations in Canada.

5. Wilderness Work Communities

The Parliamentary Sub-Committee recommended that an in-depth study should be carried out to determine the feasibility of creating penal communities in remote areas for inmates serving long sentences. One such experiment did, in fact, take place in 1975 under the label of the "Wilderness Correctional Community". This in essence, represents a fifth penal colony model which incorporates and combines many of the critical features and objectives of the four previously discussed penal models. In 1974, a group of inmates from the Matsqui Medium Security Institution in Abbotsford, B.C. formed a Wilderness Correctional Community Society in an effort to promote their plan to establish penal communities in remote areas of B.C. where parolees, could live with their families. The inclusion of the family unit they felt was a necessary reform in order for them to be given the opportunity to re-learn their social responsibilities towards family, work, and self-sufficiency (Young, 1979). The inmates submitted a tender for a tree planting contract to the British Columbia Ministry of Forestry Services. The tender was granted to the Society because it had the lowest bid. Permission was obtained from the National Parole Board in September 1974 for six temporary parolees to take part in this pilot project on the

condition that the inmates would be under constant supervision. With the assistance of Living Unit Officers, the Society set up a tent camp near Chehalis Lake; two of the parolees' wives were present as cooks and planters. The contract was completed within three weeks with a net profit of $1,800.00 and the inmates were returned to Matsqui Institution.

In March 1975, the Society, bid a second time on a contract let by the Cattermole Timber Company in Chilliwack, B.C. and, once again, was successful with its tender. The National Parole Board reviewed the project but this time voiced concern that inmates were bidding against private sector competitors. They were also uneasy about creating a precedent with the co-educational participation of inmate wives and families. After careful deliberation the Board decided that, because there was not a high demand from the public for tree planting work it was not taking away employment opportunities from local citizens. They agreed also to allow three inmate wives and seven children to live at the campsite in addition to the eighteen parolees and their parole officer. The women taught school, washed clothes, and assisted with the cooking. Visitors were permitted on weekends. Within one month, the contract was completed with a net profit of $1,200.00.

Despite the feeling that they had overcommitted themselves, the Parole Board approved a third project in August 1975, but now with two additional restrictions: the inmate group was to commute daily over 100 miles to the Paleface Creek site and reside within the Matsqui

Institution and, secondly, parolees wives and visitors were to socialize only at the trailor units, not at the Paleface Creek site. The latter condition was imposed because the Paleface Creek site was used regularly by the public as a campground on weekends. Between August 1975 and November 1975, the parolees worked on the contract while being supervised by two Living Unit Officers from Matsqui Institution. Unfortunately, the project was cancelled suddenly in mid-November when the supervising officers were recalled because of a shortage of staff at Matsqui Institution.

The Special Projects Committee, a sub-committee of the National Parole Board conducted an evaluation of the Wilderness Group in 1976. They concluded that the two areas of concern previously expressed by the Board were not important issues. Competition with private industry was acceptable since the regulations of the Canadian Penitentiary Act state that "inmates are allowed to conduct a private business enterprise with the Commissioner's approval"(Dunn, 1976). As for the second area of concern, conjugal visiting, it was found that "no co-habitation occurred on Penitentiary property" (Dunn, 1976). Finally, they suggested that a "draft constitution for a recommended model and suggestions as to how pilot projects might be carried out would hopefully come out of a systematic study." Since that time, the Federal Government has implemented a number of forestry camps in British Columbia including a program at Ferndale Institution and Elbow Lake Institution. These are designed along the lines of a "remote access colony".

In its original state, the wilderness work community incorporated many of the features and objectives of other penal colony models. It was located in a remote and inaccessible area, supervision was minimal, and inmate families were present. The purpose of the community was to provide opportunities for inmates to learn their social responsibilities towards their family, work, and self-sufficiency. Inmates were employed in meaningful, constructive work which had contributing to the national economy (Young, 1979). They learned how to interact cooperatively with their families and peers towards a common goal and to accept responsibility for their food, shelter, and warmth (Young, 1979). None of these accomplishments would have been made possible in the traditional prison environment. The wilderness work community proved to be a cost-effective and humane alternative to prison. In a sense, this experiment could be considered a successful small-scale pilot project for the penal community model. Revisions in the parole system (for inmates who participate in these programs) would have to come about as would greater acceptance of conjugal visiting. Overall, the wilderness correctional community with some modifications, appears to be a viable and feasible model for the Canadian penal system to adopt.

The isolated work-camp idea has also been used in Canada as an alternative correctional facility for adult offenders. There are many minimum security farm/forest camps across Canada which provide inmates with paid, constructive work. These camps are generally operated with fewer rules and limitations than the traditional minimum security prisons.

Offenders are usually under supervision while they work but are not under guard. In 1980, Norm Baker, Director of the Forestry Camp Programs in the Pacific Region, submitted a proposal for a "floating work camp" in which a select number of inmates would be hired under contract by the B.C. Forest Service to thin and space trees. The location of this camp would be Nigei Island, an uninhabited isolated island situated off the North East cost of coast of Vancouver Island. The base camp used would depend on which category of offenders was chosen for the program: Mountain Institution could be used for protective custody cases; Ferndale Institution would be the base camp for higher risk inmates. A handful of staff would be needed to supervise the inmates while they work on the barge camp. The project is viewed as being beneficial to the B.C. Forest Service, cost-effective for federal/provincial governments and a valuable opportunity for offenders to engage in constructive, paid work.

Conclusion

In summary, the consequences of prison confinement could be greatly reduced in a remote penal community environment (ACA, 1981). Indeed, the Sub-Committee and a Workshop sponsored by the Ontario Association of Corrections and Criminology (1976) concluded that penal communities would be extremely advantageous for "long-term offenders who could benefit from such a concrete attempt to provide them with means for self-reformation." It is possible that a penal community could meet three basic needs which a prison environment

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traditionally fails to provide: the need to normalize, the need to humanize, and the need to democratize (Working Group on Correctional Programs for Long-Term Sentences, 1976).

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ANNEX B

Excerpt from the Report to Parliament by the Sub-Committee on the Penitentiary System in Canada, 1977, pp. 146-147.

Another possible experiment is the development of remote-access institutions or penal communities, an idea in which the C.P.S. has already shown some interest.

The C.P.S.'s interest was stimulated by last year's Criminal Code amendments providing for twenty-five-year sentences without eligibility for parole. In September, 1976, the Ontario Association of Corrections and Criminology conducted a two-day public symposium on the subject.

Unfortunately, mention of such institutions tends to provoke an adverse reaction based on the assumption that what is being proposed would automatically incorporate the worst features of the former penal colonies in French Guiana and the Siberian labour camps and the Gulag Archipelago in the Soviet Union. It is also usually assumed that such colonies, if they were established in Canada, would necessarily be located somewhere north of the Artic circle in order to provide a high degree of security, that inmates would be forced to go to them, and that it would be virtually impossible to recruit staff for them.

However, there are alternatives, Penal communities could be established in wilderness areas of Canada's national parks or on coastal islands where they would be

inaccessable by road, with the environment providing the necessary security. The communities could be built and populated by selected volunteer inmates. Inmates could be employed at improving the environment in or near their own penal community, working either for private industry or for their own cooperative industries. They would be employed in meaningful productive work and should be paid somewhere near the going wage for such employment. Inmates' families could join them if they chose to do so. Inmates could support their families, make income tax payments, make contributions to and be eligible for the benefits of welfare programs such as the Canada Pension Plan, Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation and Hospital and Surgical-Medical Insurance. Conceivably these communities could be to a greater or lesser degree self-governing and thereby develop among the inmates a sense of community responsibility.

Staff could live in either bachelor or married quarters in the community or if necessary be frequently relieved by being flown in and out by helicopter.

The conclusion of the O.A.C.C. symposium was that penal colonies could work provided that: the problems of staff and inmates isolation could be overcome, there was adequate protection from possible abuse, and the program would not be used for undesirable inmates but for long-term offenders who could benefit from such a concrete attempt to provide them with the means for self-reformation.

There is reason to believe that many suitable long-term inmates would volunteer to go to penal communities provided adequate safeguards, programs and opportunities were assured.

Contrary to some commonly expressed opinions the British practice of transporting offenders to penal colonies in Australia between 1788 and 1868 was not abandoned because it was considered to be an unduly harsh sanction. It was stopped because:

(a) the Home Office concluded that the penal colonies were not sufficiently oppressive;

(b) there was too much contamination of younger minor offenders because of the lack of an adequate classification system; and

(c) normal immigrants were complaining about the excessive number of offenders being transported to and being at large in the colonies.

A reputedly successful penal community has been established in Mexico. It is the Trés Marias Penal Colony located on a 34,000 acre island in the Pacific ocean. Some 800 long-term inmates live a near normal life with their wives and families in this community.

We believe that there is merit in establishing penal communities for long term offenders as an alternative to serving long sentences in conventional institutions.

RECOMMENDATION 63

The Canadian Penitentiary Service should carry out an in-depth study of the feasibility and viability of penal communities in reasonably inaccessible areas as an alternative to confinement in conventional institutions for inmates serving long sentences without eligibility for parole.

ANNEX C

Gallup National Omnibus

Opinion On Isolated Areas for Long-term Prisoners and their Families. Conducted for the Correctional Service of Canada, January, 1983.

A representative sample of 2096 Canadian adults were asked to assess this statement:

> "In some countries, specifically chosen, isolated communities have been set up so that selected inmates serving long sentences, may live there with their wives and families, if they are able to work within this setting to support themselves and their family."

Overall, more felt it was at least worth a try (61%) than believed it was a doubtful experiment or worse (35%).

Aside from regional differences, there was little variation in the expressed views of other sub-groups. Those with university training were somewhat more favourable, as were those with French as a mother tongue.

Regionally, those in British Columbia (49%) and in the Prairies (43%) were more negative towards the idea; while those in Quebec were more positive (70%). Atlantic and Ontario residents more closely matched the national average.

Here is the breakdown:

	Nat'l	Atl.	Que.	Ont.	Pr.	B.C.
No. of Respondents	2096 100%	186 100%	572 100%	760 100%	342 100%	234 100%
A highly desirable development in Canada	11	8	20	10	7	5
Worth a try	49	55	50	51	47	40
A doubtful experiment	18	16	15	18	20	25
A non-desirable development	17	19	11	17	22	24
Don't know, can't say	4	2	4	5	3	5

ANNEX D

Thumbnail Sketch of Possible Sites

Setting:	Schefferville, Quebec
Location:	Northeastern portion of Quebec, 360 miles from Sept. Iles
Population:	400 at peak and is now estimated at 1900, including 900 natives from two Indian Bands
Economic Base:	The Iron Ore Company of Canada. Iron is the only mineral in the immediate area.
Access:	1 flight per day, 5 days per week 1 train per week from Sept-Iles.
Current Situation:	With the impending closure of the mine in June 1983, plans are being made to close the townsite and eliminate utility services. It is expected that less than 100 people will elect to stay in the community.
Information Source:	Documents from Mayor Begin.

Setting:	Uranium City, Saskatchewan
Location:	Northern Saskatchewan, on the North shore of Lake Athabaska
Population:	3000 at the peak period in 1980, and is now estimated to be 600.
Economic Base:	Eldorado Nuclear Limited operation of the Beaverlodge Mine and Mill
Access:	A winter road across Lake Athabaska has been routinely available but will not be maintained in 1983-84. Pacific Western Airlines has maintained two flights per week from Edmonton, while Norcan Airlines provides air service from Saskatoon three time per week.
Current Situation:	Since the announced closure of the Beaverlodge Mine and Mill in December, 1981, alternative means of maintaining an economically viable community have been sought. Suggestions for economic re-development have included tourism, fisheries and processing, agriculture, secondary manufacturing and hazardous waste disposal. However, it would

appear no single activity would maintain the economic viability of the town. At this juncture, closure is expected to be completed by August 1983, at which point basic services and utilities may be terminated.

Contact Source: Major Rose Wasylenka

Setting:	Tasu, British Columbia
Location:	Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia
Popultion:	Capacity for 360 people
Economic Base:	Westfrob Mines of Falconbridge Co.
Access:	Ocean-going harbour accomodates Her Majesty's canadian ships, coast guard, and federal fishing patrol. Pacific Western Air Service from Vancouver and Prince Ruppert to Sandspit, and Trans Provincial Airways to TASU.
Current Situation:	With the planned closure of the mine at TASU the townsite faces likely demolition and transfer or termimation of employees. Closure is planned for August 1983. A potential alternative economy might be based on the forest ecology or a fish hatchery.
Contact Source:	Official of Falconbridge Mines and the B.C. Mining Association.

Setting: Nigei Island, British Columbia

Location: North Shore of Vancouver Island, British Columbia

Population: uninhabited

Economic Base: a logging operation was conducted on the Island in the early 1960s, but was terminated in 1965. Sufficient natural resources remain to support a viable forestry operation.

Access: No commercial access currently in place. Float plane available from Port Hardy on the north shore of Vancouver Island. Boat Transportation is also available out of Port Hardy

Current Situation: The British Columbia Forest Service has expressed an interest in having the Correctional Services of Canada implement a float camp operation on Nigei Island. Although initially conceived as a minimum security foresting camp, it has been suggested that the location be considered for long-term offenders. A legal opinion

has been provided indicating that the location could be designated a penitentiary but would have to be changed each time the camp moves to another setting (if a floating barge operation were used).

Contact Source: British Columbia Forest Service

ANNEX E

Long-term Offenders: Descriptive Data

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this appendix is to provide;

1. descriptive statistics on the type of offenders who might be considered eligible for an LACC;

2. actual "head counts" or raw numbers that emerge when various sets of criteria are used to determine client eligibility.

The following statistics are derived from the Offender Information System data base which was made available by Operational Information Services of CSC.

LONG-TERM OFFENDERS

Since the facility is being considered primarily for long-term offenders, a sentence length of 21 years or more (including life and indeterminate sentences) was established as a selection criterion. By calculating one-third of this period, one can be reasonably assured that, with few exceptions, all cases in this long term offender sample can be expected to be incarcerated for a minimum of 7 years. During May, 1983, between 1620 and 1650 inmates, depending on the day, met this criterion. The following is a description of these currently incarcerated long-term offenders.

Current Location and Security

As expected, the majority (912 or 55%) are held in maximum security institutions. This is followed by mediums (532 or 33%), minimums (165, 10%) and other (provincial, hospital) facilities (13, 8%).

By institution long-term offenders are most likely housed in the following institutions:

Millhaven (164, 10%)
Laval (123, 8%)
Kingston (101, 6%)
Dorchester Penitentiary (94, 6%)
Archambault (74, 5%)

Other institutions holding more than 40 (3-4%) long-term offenders include: Warkworth Institution, Stony Mountain Institution, Edmonton Institution, Kent Institution, Matsqui Institution, Joyceville Institution, Mountain Institution, CDC Quebec, and Collins Bay Penitentiary.

Most long-term offenders can be found in Ontario (507 or 31%) or Quebec Regions (415, 25%) followed by the Prairies (298, 18%) Pacific (269, 16%) and Atlantic (135, 8%) Regions.

In terms of possible security risk, 14% (226 cases) have a history of at least one UAL.

Time Served

About one-third (582 or 36%) have already served more than 7 years, while more than one-half (856, 53%) have served from 1 to 7 years and the remainder (184,11%) are in the first year of their sentence.

Offense

Various versions of murder comprise the vast majority of offences (78%). A breakdown of the most prevalent offenses are as follows:

Murder (1st and 2nd)	814 (49.5%)
Murder (capital, noncapital)	469 (28.5%)
Robbery (Armed, violence)	60 (3.6%)
Attempted murder	41 (2.5%)
Dangerous Sexual Offenders	41 (2.5%)
Manslaughter	32 (1.9%)
Rape	30 (1.8%)

Criminal History

The majority (71%) are serving their first federal incarceration while only 3% have more than two federal incarcerations. As a result, the average previous federal time served upon current admission is 1.4 years.

Age

As a group, long-term offenders are older than the average CSC inmate, having a mean age of 35.8. While 30% (501) of the cases are at least 40 years of age, 38% (618) are in their 30's, and 31% (509) in their 20's.

Sex

As expected, the vast majority was male with female offenders representing 2.2% of the sample.

Language

The majority are unilingual English (68%). 16% are unilingual Fancophone and a similar number (15%) are bilingual.

Ethnicity

A total of 131 offenders (8%) claimed racial backgrounds of North American Indian (6%) or Metis (2%).

Marital Status

At the time of their incarceration 32% or 525 long-term inmates claimed to have an existing marital relationship (married, 18% common-law, 14%). Over one-half (52%) were single, with the remaining being divided equally among divorced, separated or widowed (5%).

These results must be considered with caution, however. The data are based on self-reports and there may be a tendency for offenders to claim a relationship which does not really exist. Secondly, these figures represent status upon admission. It is reasonable to expect long-term offenders may experience separation following their penitentiary admission. Therefore, the number of intact marital retationships is clearly lower than 525. A case-by-case review would be necessary to provide an accurate and current figure.

SUBGROUPS OF LONG-TERM MARRIED AND COMMONLAW INMATES

The long-term inmate population with a marital relationship at the time of admission was analyzed in terms of various additional criteria. This was done by subdividing the identified long-term sample according to potentially relevant selection variables. The following figures represent an attempt to select likely subgroups as candidates for an LACC.

Escape Risks

Looking at those with history of UALs as being possible security risks, one finds a sizeable portion (35%) among the married and common law inmates. By adding a "NO UAL" criterion to the selection system, the eligibility list of long term offenders with a marital relationship is reduced by 182. This combination (marital relationship and "NO UAL" history) leaves 343 long-term inmates elligible for selection.

First-time Penitentiary

Employing Sentence Length and Marital Status as primary selection criteria, the following breakdown is obtained in terms of previous penitentiary terms. Thirty-five percent have had at least one previous federal incarceration which leaves 343 married or commonlaw, long term inmates who are serving their first penitentiary term and might therefore be considered good candidates for an LACC.

Language

Employing Sentence Length and Marital Status as the only selection criteria, the language breakdown is as follows: of the 525 (32% of the total sample) eligible candidates, 352 or 67% are uniligual English while 32% (167 cases) are equally divided among francophone and bilingual categories.

Language and Sex

The largest group is uniligual English speaking males. It constitutes two-thirds (1084 or 66%) of the long-term sample. Minority groups, by sex and language include francophone or bilingual males (514 or 31%) and anglophone females (30 or 2%).

Age

Ideal candidates might be expected to come from the older, married and commonlaw long-term inmates. However, only 167, or 32% of the 514 married and common law, long-term male inmates, are over 40 years of age.

Natives

Although natives claimed a similar percentage of marital relationships (30%), the raw number of long-term natives in the sample was small (131 or 8%) which means that the real number of long-term natives with a self-reported marital relationship was very small (39 cases).

Single White Males

An important issue for consideration will be the acceptability of any program that would bar single white males. Currently they comprise 981 or 60% of the long-term population and their exclusion would greatly decrease the eligible sample.

ANNEX "F"

A Discussion Of The Issues

I. PHYSICAL FACTORS AND RESOURCES

A. Location

(1) Canadian and American accreditation standards

The American Correctional Association has set specific standards regarding the location of correctional institutions, standards which should be reviewed in the context of creating a limited access correctional community:

> Correctional institutions should be located in rural settings, but within easy and short commuting distance, either by public transportation or automobile, of one or more communities wherein adequate housing can be found for personnel, opportunities for shopping, education for children, recreation and entertainment, and all of the other advantages of civilization which will make recruitment easy and help employee morale (1966: 337).

Similarly, the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime developed in 1982 certain criteria for the planning and construction of penitentiaries to ensure that the prison

environment is "safe, humane and conducive to the provision of programs appropriate to the needs of the prison population, staff, and community." Specifically, the CAPC has drafted the following standards:

> 5.04.05 The location of the prison is selected to ensure that time, distance, and cost factors do not impede or discourage family contacts and positive community interaction.
>
> 5.04.06 Where access to the prison is encumbered by a lack of public transport, geography or terrain, the prison conveys visitors to the site from the nearest centre which is served by the public transport at least once a week.
>
> 5.04.07 Where the prison does not convey visitors to the prison site, the prison conveys prisoners to the nearest centre which is served by the public transport at least once a week for visiting purposes.
>
> 5.04.09 The prison is located in or immediately adjacent to a major population centre.

By definition, the limited access correctional community would have to be inaccessible in order to maximize security conditions. Meeting ACA and CAPC standards would be difficult since it could not be situated within short

commuting distance of a major population centre. Public transportation to the institution for staff, inmates, and their families would have to be the responsibility of the institution and would probably take the form of boats or airplanes. The essential resources and services or "advantages of civilization" would have to be established within the community.

(2) Geographical considerations

In selecting the site, careful consideration would have to be given to the needs of the community: acreage, topography, climate, transportation facilities, communications, water supply, electrical power generation and distribution, availability of natural resources, and residential housing facilities. These factors are critical in terms of the cost of construction and maintenance: staffing, employment opportunities for inmates, and provision of essential goods and services.

The location of the community, the climate, and the type of economic resources available would determine the kind of employment opportunities open to inmates. The agricultural possibilities of a site, for instance, might be important in terms of providing inmates a source of employment and an opportunity for the community to produce its own food supply. Availability of economic resources would be a crucial factor to be considered in providing raw materials for industries and essential resources (eg. gas, water, electricity) for community consumption. At the same time, climatic conditions would have to be conducive to reasonable living and working conditions so that members of the community would not suffer any undue hardships or privations.

Geographic location may also contribute to the security of a facility. This feature will be particularly crucial if long-term or maximum security inmates are included in the program. Since the limited access correctional community would be inaccessible it should require little or no static security. That is, security would be based on the principle that the more remote the community, the more pointless and harmless would be escape. The natural perimeters of the community would serve as the boundaries to prevent inmates from escaping and to keep unauthorized visitors out. Within reason, the climate of the area would also contribute to security. At the same time, the use of armed guards, bars, and walls could be kept to a minimum, although some provision for a small lock-up facility would be necessary.

The question of the community's location is of crucial importance. Suggestions have been made in the past to locate the penal community somewhere in Canada's North. The attraction of this proposal is that inmates would provide a source of labour for northern development. The danger lies with the fact that inmates would provide cheap labor in an area where free Canadians are reluctant to work, except for high wages. The climate of such areas also bears considerations and many studies have identified physical, psychological, and social deprivations that occur as a result of isolated environments (McKay, et al, 1979: 45 - 47). These problems take an even greater significance when considering the recruitment of staff or the impact of an environment on the family.

Another possibility is to convert an all but abandoned town. An advantage of this approach would be the reduction of initial construction expenditures. In this context, Uranium City has been proposed as a possible site. The city is located in a remote area of Saskatchewan and, due to the closing of the Eldorado Nuclear Limited operations, it has become essentially a ghost town. What remains is a city which is largely intact - there are already the necessary facilities for communications; electrical power generation and distribution; air, water, and road transportation; water supply; sewage treatment; health care and education; and residential housing (Marshall, Macklin, and Monaghan, 1981). Most of the inhabitants have re-located, leaving residential homes that could easily be converted for the use of inmates and their families and/or staff. Few long-term employment opportunities exist although limited jobs are available in the area of wild rice farming, green house production, and special health care facilities. Other jobs would include the production of goods and services for the community as well as maintenance work. Latter activities would particularly suit the need for employment of inmate families and staff. It is clear that a major problem associated with the idea of resurrecting such a town is a lack of employment opportunities. It was abandoned for this reason in the first place.

(3) Jurisdictional responsibility

Once the site of a limited access correctional community has been established, the issue of jurisdictional responsibility becomes important. As the system stands now,

provinces are responsible for inmates serving sentences of two years less a day while the federal government assumes responsibility for inmates serving periods greater than two years.

B. Facilities

(1) Housing

In planning the physical plant of the community, serious consideration must be given to the type of housing facilities and to the construction and maintenance costs. If the community is to simulate a "normal" community and allow freedom of movement for inmates within well-marked boundaries, the traditional institutional designs would not be appropriate. The staff and their families would require modest homes or apartments. If families of inmates were permitted, residences would have to be built to house them. On the other hand, if inmates alone were to take part in the project, dormitories would perhaps be sufficient for their needs. Furniture and appliances must also be considered.

(2) Medical facilities

Medical care is essential in the community particularly because the institution would be in a remote area. Ideally, the medical facilities and equipment should meet high technical standards and include a hospital. Where possible, inmates should be employed as paramedical personnel. The CAPC draft standards stipulate that health and medical programs of an institution must be of the highest standards:

In extreme cases, where special treatment is necessary, provisions should be made for transportation of the patient to the nearest hospital facility.

(3) Food Services

Proper nutrition for inmates is an essential requirement of any institution. Food services in a LACC may take a variety of forms, depending on the specific arrangements of the institution. A central kitchen, for instance, could be used for the preparation of the food, and common or separate dining rooms could be provided for inmates and staff. Inmates could be employed in this capacity - to prepare and serve food. The production and distribution of food is also another source of employment for inmates. If private homes or apartments are accorded staff or inmate families, meal preparation might be left to the individuals themselves. In this case some form of grocery store and shopping facilities would have to be available.

(4) Educational facilities

Education programs are considered an integral component of any prison institution. Educational facilities and competent teachers in the community are particularly important in view of the remoteness of the institution. Inmates would have to be accorded the rights and

opportunities found in a traditional prison. The issue of providing schools for the families of staff and inmates is even more important. Education would probably, but not necessarily, fall under provincial jurisdiction.

(5) Recreation and cultural facilities

A well-rounded recreation program is an important requirement and should include athletic as well as cultural activities. Facilities and equipment for such activities would also have to be supplied. Qualified staff along with members of the community could be responsible for organizing a diversified program.

(6) Religious Needs

Religion is considered an integral part of the rehabilitative process of any institution. Religious facilities would have to be diverse enough to allow for maximum flexibility in serving various faiths.

(7) Transportation facilities

The geographic location of the community would determine the modes of transportation needed. Within the community, vehicles would be necessary as would a form of public transportation. As far as outgoing transport is concerned, again the location of the community will be crucial in determining the necessary facilities. For example, boats might be needed to transport people to and from the community and to deliver supplies. Airplanes are another potential source of transportation.

(8) Power, Energy, and Communications facilities

The needs of the community in terms of power and energy would have to be taken into account and the necessary facilities and resources provided. The cost, construction, and maintenance of such facilities must be assessed by engineers and technicians prior to the establishment of the community.

Communications facilities within the community would be essential and contact with the general community would be imperative to meet administration and security requirements and the needs of staff and inmates.

II. HUMAN FACTORS AND RESOURCES

A. Staff

(1) General Services

The number of staff required to service and maintain a limited access correctional community depends primarily on the needs of the institution in terms of its physical plant, number of facilities, inmate population, and diversity of program.

Problems might arise in the area of staff recruitment since they would be expected to re-locate in an isolated area. This might pose many difficulties for individuals and not be viewed as a particularly attractive career opportunity. In this regard, traditional methods of

recruiting staff may prove inadequate. Salary and promotion benefits may have to be offered to serve as an incentive. The role of the private sector in providing many of the essential services would also have to be assessed. Where possible, employment opportunities for the community should be identified in terms of providing work for inmates and, potentially, their families.

(2) Correctional officers

The number of correctional officers and their role would also have to be determined. The purpose of the community is to create a more relaxed and less institutionalized atmosphere with a maximum of freedom of movement within the well-established boundaries (see CAPC, 1982: 5.24.06). The role of the correctional officer would involve primarily the maintenance of law and order within and, to a lesser degree, the prevention of escapes. A small lock-up facility would probably be needed as a means of punishing misdemeanors but whether correctional officers or a small police force would be required is an open question.

Due to the unique nature of the programs, orientation training for correctional officers is particularly important. Because of the program's philosophy, special training in terms of interpersonal dynamics and communication would have to be stressed in order to outfit the staff for their new roles. Advanced orientation training could include information on the purpose of the community and the specific conditions of employment for the correctional officer.

A decision will have to be made on what type of correctional officer will be best suited for the community's needs (either CXs or LUs). Some form of training would be required to prepare staff for their new duties. The military has had much experience in occupying remote areas and their assistance could be called upon to provide either direct service to the community (eg. to staff) or indirect service (eg. to provide consultation).

The salary and promotion benefits offered correctional officers as well as the terms of employment must be sufficient to recruit and maintain a qualified staff. Relevant to this is the issue of whether or not the families of the staff are to accompany them. If not, then the term of employment will have to be of relatively short duration and provisions for frequent visits to the free community will have to be made. On the other hand, if the families of staff are allowed to reside within the community, adequate housing must be provided. The effects of isolation from the general community on spouses and children will have to be anticipated and an effort made to determine how any ill effects may be alleviated (eg. frequent visits to the general community, provision of essential goods and services within the community). There may also be reluctance on the part of some of these individuals to interact with inmates and their families. The solution to this problem might be to house staff in a separate area from inmates or simply to specify from the start that the conditions of employment for staff might neccesitate such interaction. In this way, staff and their families would have to decide whether or not they want to take part in the program from the outstart. The long range effects on staff children is difficult to predict and the Child Welfare Act may have some bearing on this issue.

B. Inmates

(1) Classification

Criteri for assigning inmates to the community would have to be established. Originally, the Parliamentary Subcommittee recommended that some form of alternative environment (to that of the traditional penitentiary) be created to meet the needs of long-term offenders. The LACC might be a viable option. The ACA has set more specific criteria to determine inmate eligibility for their prisoner camps or farm colonies:

> (1) Types of crime conviction considered eligible;
> (2) recidivism-number of times in prison as a factor affecting eligibility;
> (3) minimum time in a higher security institution required before considered eligible;
> (4) time left to serve as a factor of eligibility (p. 89).

Factors that would negate inmate eligibility to this type of program could include evidence of emotional instability, poor institutional work and conduct record, length of time to be served, escape history, addiction to alcohol or narcotics, and case notoriety (ACA, 1954: pp. 66 - 67).

If the community is to be based on the family penal colony concept then inmates should be married and their families should agree to accompany them to the community. The eligibility of common-law couples for this program would have to be determined as would the legal criteria for recognizing "common-law" status. Furthermore, sex-offenders may have to be eliminated from a program that is based on a "family" penal colony concept. A decision would have to be made whether it would be feasible to allow "single" inmates to participate in the program along with married inmates. If only single inmates were eligible, would it be possible for the program to be co-ed? Other potential populations would include native offenders and a native-nonnative mix.

A criterion as to what constitutes a "long-term" offender would have to be established in order to determine eligibility. Ideally, inmates should have the following characteristics; physical and mental fitness based on recent examinations, willingness, the necessary job skills, and sufficient time left to be served (to mutually benefit the individual and the community) (ACA' 1954: 67).

(2) Program participation

It will be necessary for inmates to apply in order to avoid any notion of coercion (Mandel, 1978). Eligibility would be assessed on the basis of their application and classification records. In addition, if the colony was based on the family penal colony concept, the inmate would have to obtain the consent of his spouse. Again, to avoid

coercion of either party, it would be important to conduct a series of interviews with the inmate and his/her spouse to determine the willingness to participate in the community. It is recommended that the spouse of the inmate is interviewed separately so that a selection committee would be able to fully assess, without the pressure of either, the pressure of either, the committment to settle in the community. If the spouse expresses negative feelings towards participation, these should be treated confidentially by the committee. Maximum discretion should be used by the committee.

(3) Psychological and Social Impact

Isolation from the general community and, specifically, from friends and relatives may give rise to a host of psychological and social problems for both inmates and their families. These problems may be counteracted to a certain extent by the availability of a psychologist within the community and, in the case of inmate families, access to transportation out. If the administration or professional staff view the adaptation of individuals to the community as a problem, their participation in the program may be terminated. Unfortunately, other problems might arise as a result. For instance, would an inmate have to be sent back to a prison if his family later decided to return to the outside?

(4) Families

The participation of inmate families is being considered to preserve and maintain the relationship within families and to recognize that they may well be a "prime treatment agency" (Holt & Miller, 1972: v). Several nations in Europe, Latin America, and the Far East permit the practice of conjugal visits and India, Pakistan, the Phillipines, and Mexico have even created penal colonies where prisoners can live with their families for the duration of their sentence (Cavan & Zemans, 1958). Canada has instituted a private family visiting program in order to maintain family ties during incarceration and to facilitate the reintegration of the inmate into the community (CSC, 1983).

Incorporating a family penal colony model into Canada's culture and criminal justice system may pose many legal, political, social, and economic problems. Even if the idea was accepted politically and socially, its implementation would be another matter, as far as the individuals involved are concerned. Social problems might arise if families were reluctant to interact with the inmates of the community. Such a reaction is normal in that inmates have traditionally been isolated from non-offenders for the protection of society. The short-term and long-run effects of this environment on the children of the community cannot be predicted with any degree of certainty. Certainly, research has established that the loss of a parent may cause behavioral problems, may negatively affect children's performance and may lead to criminal careers (Heyer, 1978). A family penal colony model could rectify this problem but, at the same time, be the cause of others.

While one of the goals would be to simulate a traditional urban community, its limited access and general inmate population would not be conducive to creating such an environment. It is important, therefore, to consider the potential negative short-term and long-range effects this abnormal environment might have on both the children of staff and inmates. For example, the impact of children interacting with inmates may have adverse effects on their development including the possibility that it would encourage delinquency and pro-criminal values. The educational needs of these children must also be considered and appropriate measures taken to ensure that educational requirements are equal to the standards set by the provinces. Other problems might arise if many of these children later wish to pursue higher education (eg. college or university) or employment on the outside. The ensuing separation from their family might be another source of trauma. To live in a limited access correctional community is presumably a decision that parents will make on behalf of their children. The result might be that the children will feel they are, in a sense, being punished for their father's or mother's crimes. The social stigma of being the child of an inmate has always socially, psychologically, and economically disadvantaged these children. Life in a penal colony may constitute yet another social setback for them. Legally, the Child Welfare Act and the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms may have serious implications in terms of permitting them to participate in this project.

Many of the problems identified to this point would also be applicable to the spouses of inmates and staff involved in this project. Despite the fact that spouses would be given complete freedom to take part in the project, it is certain that in many instances they will experience personal and social pressure to accompany their husbands/wives. Dislocation from the free community and separation from their friends and relatives will be stressful for many. Related to this issue are a number of other problems for spouses: giving up their jobs or careers and losing their homes and property in their own community. These problems may be alleviated, to a certain extent, by building modest homes or apartments for families and, where possible, providing them with employment opportunities in the maintenance and service areas. The eligibility of these families for welfare must also be determined.

If relations deteriorate between the inmate and his/her spouse, what effect would this development have on the eligibility of the inmate to remain in the community? If the inmate and/or the family expressed interest in remaining within the community once the inmate's sentence had expired, would this be feasible socially and economically? Finally, would the cost of transportation for visiting purposes be the responsibility of the individual families or would the government pay the bills? If the government paid the cost of transporting visitors to the community and transporting members of the community out, would these visiting opportunities be limited? If so, would the families of inmates and staff feel, in a sense, that their freedom was also being restricted and that they were prisoners?

(5) Single Inmates

If only single inmates are permitted, an important issue to consider would be the sex composition. Would the community be co-ed or would it consist exclusively of males or females? Accommodation would depend on whether the community was unisexual or co-ed. If the inmate population was co-ed, then separate dormitories or apartment buildings may have to be constructed some distance from one another to isolate the two sexes. Co-ed programs and employment opportunities would have to be implemented and a policy established on the extent to which the two sexes could interact socially. Would sexual relations be allowed between male and female inmates? Would marriage or common-law relationships be permitted? What provisions would be made if a child was born? The sex ratio of the community might give rise to a host of other problems. Currently, in Canada there are 200 female inmates and 11,000 male inmates in the federal prison system (1983). If an uneven ratio of male and female inmates existed within the community, friction might arise. Sexual offenders also may have to be eliminated in any co-ed project.

The problems commonly experienced in a traditional prison would probably be all the more serious in a remote unisexual community. Specifically, the problem of homosexuality. Another potential source of friction might occur if inmates caused problems for the families of staff.

C. Role of the Military

It is not uncommon for experienced personnel within the military to set up bases in foreign countries or in remote areas as part of their peacekeeping role or as a military exercise. The families are generally posted to the new locations. In setting up a limited access correctional community, the military could be of service. Indirectly, it could perform an advisory role to the Ministry of the Solicitor General. It could be of direct service in lending its expertise to the administration and operation of the penal community.

III. PROGRAMS

A. Inmate Employment

Employment of inmates is considered an integral part of the rehabilitation process and, as such, it would be important to plan carefully and systematically develop a work program. The Inmate Employment Branch of the Correctional Service of Canada has provided work programs and training opportunities for inmates with four general goals: (1) to provide inmates with financial reserves upon release; (2) to provide inmates with job skills that will enable them to find work in the free community; (3) to offset the costs of operating institutions; and (4) to maintain good order in institutions (Abt, 1982).

The types of employment offered to inmates in correctional institutions cover three general areas (ACA, 1966: p. 388): industrial employment, maintenance

assignments, and agricultural activities. The ACA (1966: pp. 395 - 396) lists at least twenty types of industrial activities that inmates could engage in that would not only produce a variety of goods but also provide inmates with useful vocational training and experience. The extent to which these programs could be offered in a remote community should be identified and the necessary facilities, equipment, natural resources, and trained personnel should be determined. The needs of the penal community should also be assessed in terms of providing inmates with maintenance work.

Agricultural activities would be useful in providing food and work for inmates but these would depend on the quality and quantity of land. Other employment opportunities for inmates which are not ordinarily available in traditional prisons, could also be offered depending on the geographical location and the natural resources. The goods and services produced by inmates would contribute to the self-sufficiency of the community.

The Penitentiary Industry Regulations would have to be consulted to determine what rules and standards for inmate employment are applicable. In the past, a major concern associated with inmate employment was that the goods and services produced by inmates might constitute competition with private industry. These concerns would be lessened in a limited access community since much of what is produced would be for immediate consumption. The Regulations of the Canadian Penitentiary Act also state that "inmates are allowed to conduct a business enterprise with the Commissioner's approval."

Payment for employment would provide inmates with a means of supporting their families, contributing to their financial stability when their sentences expire, and improving their morale and self-respect while in confinement. It also produces more pro-social attitudes and serves as an incentive to find legitimate work on the outside upon expirary of sentence.
Where possible, the families of inmates and staff should be provided with paid employment.

B. Educational Programs

Educational programs should be provided for the benefit of all members of the community including inmates and the families of both inmates and staff.

C. Cultural Activities and Recreation

A broad range of cultural activities should be provided for staff, inmates, and their respective families within a limited access correctional community. Such programs could consist of arts and crafts, recreation, sociocultural activities, library programs, and special projects and committees. The inmate population could be responsible for organizing much of this entertainment and activity. (For further details concerning cultural activities and recreation, refer to section I (B) 5 & 6).

Alcohol consumption by members of society is a common source of recreation and relaxation. Inmates in traditional prisons do not have approved access to it. A major issue to

be considered, therefore, is whether or not the use of alcohol should be permitted in a limited access community. If alcohol is banned, would the non-offenders feel deprived of their rights? If only certain members of the community (eg. staff and their families and,perhaps, inmate families) were permitted to drink alcohol, what problems would this cause?

E. Community Involvement

In order to simulate a normal environment, it would be necessary to encourage the active involvement of inmates in the operation of various programs. An inmate association should be created which would have input in the planning. The feasibility of allowing inmates self-government in appropriate areas should be determined. Inmates would be expected, at the same time, to abide by certain minimum rules and regulations set by the administration of the community.

The limitations that municipal bylaws might present in terms of restricting or enhancing inmate self-government should also be assessed. Further, the Commissioner's Directives and Divisional Instructions should be consulted to determine their implications on inmate involvement in community affairs.

IV. ADMINISTRATION AND MAINTENANCE REQUIREMENTS

A. Administration

A sound organizational structure is vital to the success of any LACC. The administrative structure must be one best suited for achieving the objectives of the project. It should incorporate the following features: (1) single administrative officer; (2) organizational framework; (3) organizational sub-divisions; (4) plan and description of organization; (5) personnel controls and development; (6) system for maintaining teamwork; (7) communication with inmates; (8) regular reevaluation; (9) community relationships (ACA, 1966: 314 - 315). Since the community would constitute an innovation in the Canadian criminal justice system, there is no Canadian precedent for the organizational structure. The attached organizational charts, however, give some idea of the basic requirements which should be considered in planning and grouping the functions and the administrative units. The first chart provides a skeleton organization chart for an adult correctional institution and the second describes the organization of the Mexican penal colony at Islas Marias.

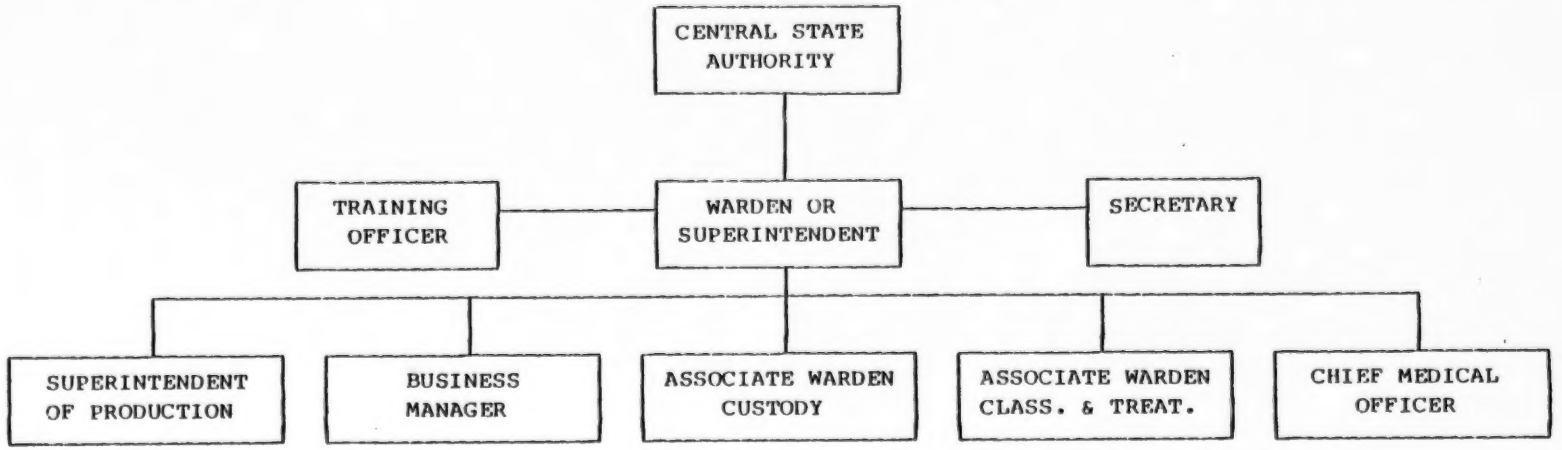
Careful consideration would have to be given to the choice of an administrative officer to fill the position of director. The leadership qualities and personality of this individual would be of paramount importance both in setting a favourable tone and atmosphere in the community and ensuring the success of its programs.

Support staff for the community must also be employed to provide technical services, medical services, legal services, vocational and educational programs, and maintenance services. These people must be specially recruited and trained as has been outlined previously.

B. Security

The issue of security would assume particular importance as long-term or maximum security offenders would be considered for participation in the program. Since the community would be located in an area inaccessible to the general community, it should require little or no static security. The natural perimeters would serve as its boundaries. The presence of the inmate's family in the community would also probably reduce any desire on the part of the inmate to escape.

SKELETON ORGANIZATION CHART FOR A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION FOR ADULTS



Functions

Industries
Farms
Accounts, stores records, etc. for production enterprises.

Functions

Budgets
Accounting
Procurement
Stores
Canteen
Feeding
Clothing
Plant maintenance
Personnel payrolls and records.

Functions

Security guarding
General work crew supervision
Control of routine movements of inmates
Discipline.

Functions

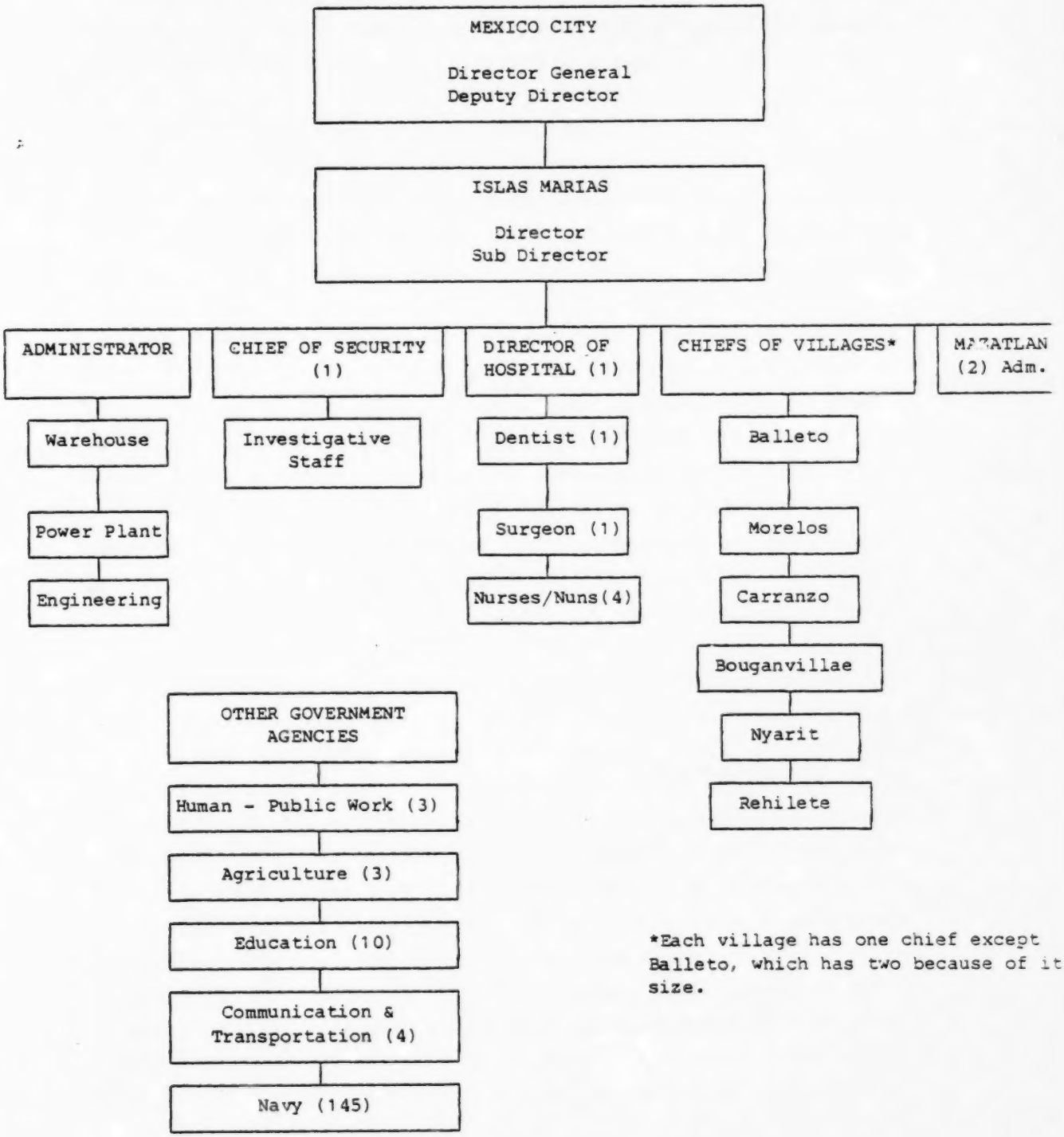
Classification
Release procedures
Inmate education and training
Religion
Recreation
Inmate records
Mail
Visits.

Functions

General health
Clinics
Hospital Administration
Psychiatric services
Institution sanitation.

MEXICAN PENAL COLONY AT ISLAS MARIAS

TABLE OF ORGANIZATION



*Each village has one chief except Balleto, which has two because of it size.

An adequate system to ensure that all inmates are present and accounted for at prescribed times would be necessary due to the general freedom of movement they would have within established perimeters.

Misconduct and disturbances are bound to occur and provisions must be made to discipline these summary offenders. For minor infractions, a curfew could be imposed on the responsible inmates. Another type of discipline could be the loss of certain privileges such as the right to recreation or entertainment for a specified period of time. Furthermore, fines or wage deduction could be used to penalize them. A major disadvantage with this latter course would be that it could also potentially punish the families of inmates. One means used by the director of the Mexican penal colony at Islas Marias to maintain good order is to informally discuss, with the inmate's spouse, any problems that might exist so that the latter might influence the inmate positively.

A small lock-up facility should be constructed to house offenders who are guilty of more serious infractions. A small police force or security guards could be made responsible for operating this facility and for maintaining general order. Those inmates who continually violate the conditions of the community or are found guilty of serious offenses, should be rendered ineligible for further participation in the program and returned immediately to prison. This is a necessary step to maintain discipline and order. Many of the security restrictions may prove to be harsh for the families of staff and inmates and may give

rise to a general feeling of being imprisoned or penalized. The legal implications of non-inmate members violating the law in the community must also be considered. Would the administration of the community have the legal right to impose punishment on these offenders or would these offenders have to be transferred out to have their case tried? Would it be legally possible to set up some form of court system within the community to hear the cases of these offenders and sentence them accordingly

On the other hand, incentives must also be provided to ensure good behavior, including the remission of the inmates sentences based on cooperation and good behavior. Indeed, it should be possible to introduce a variety of incentives into the program. The LACC environment opens up a host of possibilities for importing enthusiasm that could not be undertaken in a traditional penitentiary.

C. Finances

(1) Funding Source

Since the proposed inmate population is to be long-term offenders, it would appear that the federal government would be largely responsible for funding the program. The government may elect to contract the services of private agencies to operate the community.

(2) Costs involved

The initial construction cost of a remote correctional community would be expensive in terms of transporting supplies and machinery and contracting architects, builders,

and technicians. To some extent, these initial expenditures could be reduced by locating the community in an abandoned city or town which already possesses many of the essential facilities. Maintenance services for the community and the cost of the land must also be considered. The salaries of staff, which must be sufficiently high to serve as an incentive, and transportation and communication costs for a remote area would be expensive. Then too, the wages for inmate employment as well as the financial support for the families of inmates and staff would have to be calculated.

(3) Self-sufficiency

The cost of maintaining a male inmate in maximum security has been estimated at $41,137 annually; for female inmate at the same security level it is $44,947 (CSC, 1982: 23). There is potential for a LACC to decrease this overall cost in a number of ways. A major expenditure in any institution is associated with the need for constant security; the security needs of a limited access correctional community would be greatly reduced. Granted the staff would probably receive higher salaries than prison officials on average, but the average annual cost per inmate should still be reduced. Furthermore, many of the essential goods and services required for the consumption and maintenance of the community could be produced by the inmates. Agricultural activities, for instance, would not only provide a source of food but would constitute an excellent form of employment for inmates, particularly for those who come from a rural background. Any excess produced could be sold to the public and the profits would go to the

maintenance of the community. Such activities as mechanical services, maintenance and repair of the physical plant of the community, storekeeping, and related work could be carried out and, in so doing, reduce expenditures. Industrial production could produce profits and contribute to the general self-sufficiency. The Mexican penal colony at Islas Marias reports (1982) that it expects to achieve 90% self-sufficiency in the near future.

V. PUBLIC ACCEPTABILITY AND PROGRAM EVALUATION

A. Public Opinion

(1) General public

The penal colony concept in Canada's criminal justice system could be met with a great deal of initial resistance from various sectors. Canadian prisons have changed little in design or operation since their inception. The idea of using an alternative, nontraditional method in dealing with offenders could, therefore, be resisted by those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo or by those who are apathetic towards or distrustful of change. The average citizen, if he had any knowledge of penal colonies would have gained it from school history textbooks which characterized those of the past as inhumane and coercive. Society today would not entertain the idea of emulating these oppressive and exploitative conditions. Any communications plan that outlines change strategy would have to include a the potential benefits of an LACC. It would be explained that they potentially represent a more humane

alternative environment for long-term offenders than the traditional prison. Any notion of the community being a "country club" prison or resort would have to be dispelled. The idea of a "family penal colony" could also pose many problems in that many members of society would be adverse to the practice of allowing the families of inmates to reside in the same community as the rest of the inmate population. People would be fearful of the effects that such an environment could have on children, in terms of increasing the potential for learning anti-social values and behavior and contributing to juvenile delinquency. Moreover, the initial costs of constructing and settling the community could be viewed negatively by Canadian taxpayers. If the production of goods and services meant loss of jobs for non-offenders and loss of profits for the private sector, there could be further resistance.

An informed public could make a more educated decision as to whether or not they can accept the project.

(2) Prison inmates

Proposals on the idea of creating some form of penal colony have been submitted by inmate groups in various institutions. In 1974, a group of inmates from Matsqui Institution formed a Wilderness Correctional Community Society which was successful in obtaining a contract with B.C. Forestry Services to clear forests. Several wives and children were allowed to reside on-site. Outward Bound projects for juvenile delinquents and small-scale forestry camps for male inmates are currently in use. Whether the

general inmate population of most institutions would be receptive to the creation of a full-scale penal colony for a select population is another issues that would have to be addressed. Many long-term offenders might reject the program on the basis that this new system would further legitimize the lengthy sentences, without parole eligibility, which they are currently attempting to fight.

(3) Private Sector

As was mentioned earlier, the role of the private sector in either providing support for the concept or actively becoming involved in the operation must be considered. Interest groups such as the John Howard Society and the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Crime should be consulted. These groups through their newsletters, conferences, and workshops could promote full-scale discussion of the issue and create support for it in the criminal justice system.

(4) Media

The media could be receptive, neutral or non-receptive to the idea of a limited access correctional community. It could also be the vehicle for a lot of public debate on the idea and could be instrumental in educating and informing the public as to the general goals and purpose of the project.

B. <u>Program Evaluation</u>

(1) Cost effectiveness

The cost effectiveness of the facility would be determined by calculating the average annual cost per inmate. When this cost is calculated it shold be compared to the average annual cost of a comparable inmate in a traditional prison.

(2) Program efficiency

The community is based on the principle that, while it is necessary to incapacitate those who violate the law, it is not necessary to make incapacitation painful.

To determine the efficiency in terms of the traditional method of measuring recidivism would be difficult since it is oriented towards long-term offenders. It would take many years before such a measurement could be possible. One way of assessing the efficiency of a program earlier is to determine client satisfaction. The psychological and social impact of the project on inmates could be measured by surveying them at different points in their sentence and using self-report measures and administrative assessment of their cooperation and adaptation to the program. The attitudes of the staff would also have to be taken into account. Since this would be a form of a therapeutic community, staff/inmate relationships would play an important role in determining its success. The families of inmates could be surveyed, as well, to assess the impact on them, particularly the children. Finally, the effect of removing long-term offenders from the rest of the prison

population must also be determined. Many researchers have reported that long-term offenders appear to have a stabilizing effect on the other prison inmates. What would happen if institutionalized offenders resented the fact they were not eligible for the program or if they were deprived of the stabilizing influence of long-term offenders?

VI. POTENTIAL PITFALLS

(1) Philosophy of the Program

Prior to implementation of this program, it must be determined if the program makes sense in terms of a rational and logical alternative to our traditional prison system. Is the program politically sound or even economically feasible? Does it constitute a more humane alternative environment for long-term offenders than the traditional prison setting? Would it be fair to ask inmate families to participate in the program? Would it be fair to request staff to not only work but live in the same community environment as inmates? Would the program, in fact, rehabilitate the offender or would it simply corrupt the non-offender? Is it realistic to believe that inmates are willing to become pro-social, responsible, productive members of society? The penal community concept is used in many countries but is it feasible in terms of Canada's culture and criminal justice system?

On the other hand, is the project totally unrealistic? The function of our prison system is supposed to be incapacitation, deterrence, punishment, and rehabilitation.

The recidivism rate of offenders and the relatively high rate of crime in society indicate that the threat of prison does not serve as an effective deterrent to those who violate the law. Criminologists are now recognizing that rehabilitation in the socially abnormal environment of prison is a very difficult task. The law stipulates that incarceration is punishment and that no further punishments should be meted out to an offender and, yet the debilitating psychological, social and physical problems encountered in the prison environment serve as further punishment and degredation of inmates. The prison system, however, is largely successful in one of its main functions, that of incapacitation.

The LACC still incapacitates offenders but at the same time, it purposes to rehabilitate the offender by providing a reasonably normal environment in which he/she would have the opportunity to learn pro-social values and attitudes and engage in behavior and work that will, in the process, teach her/him self-respect and dignity. In this healthier environment the offender would learn the necessary psychological, social, educational, and vocational skills that he/she will need upon return to the free community. Can it be realistically said that the traditional prison environment provides any of these opportunities?

(2) Potential problems

There are many potential pitfalls associated with implementing the concept of a limited access correctional community into Canada's criminal justice system. Many of these problems have already been identified. The idea may

be rejected out-of-hand as socially, politically, economically, and legally impractical by various sectors of society including the general public, government agencies, the media, business interests, and inmates and their families. While penal colonies in other countries may be successful, there are great cultural differences between these nations and Canada. For example the issue of allowing the children of inmates, to reside within a penal community may not be acceptable in our culture. Some long-term offenders may reject the program because they suspect it will legitimize the 25 year sentence. The LACC in the long term may not achieve its goals or reduce federal expenditures. The potential for atrocities to occur is also possible. Incidents of this type in other innovative experiments have been documented. Escapes could be harmful in terms of public response and political pressure.

VII. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

(1) Neutral issue paper

This discussion is the first step in the investigation and exploration of the issue of a limited access correctional community. It outlines the background and rationale of past and present penal colonies and raises many issues relevant to the potential implementation of the program. It examines the advantages and disadvantages of the program so that its feasibility can be determined given the current realities. The next step will be to conduct a

client and inmate family survey to determine the number of inmates eligible for the program and their attitudes towards taking part in it. The location of the LACC will have to be decided upon by engaging consultants to conduct the necessary site analyses. The various government departments which would be involved in the program will have to be consulted and organized to discuss the issue and formulate policy.

(2) Symposium

It could prove useful to organize a symposium of experts in the field to meet and present papers on the diverse issues. In this way, workshops and seminars may be conducted to educate and to generate discussion. This would further legitimize the issue and result in useful feedback.

(3) Steering Committee

A Steering Committee has been organized to determine the terms of reference for the program and to give direction to the project.

(4) Pilot project

A small scale penal colony in Canada has been suggested as a first step towards creating a limited access correctional community. This pilot project could be used to determine the potential effectiveness and efficiency of a larger model. The problems that arise in the small scale model could then be identified and analyzed in order that they may be rectified in any large-scale project.